

A  
CRITICAL ESSAY  
ON  
OIL - PAINTING;

PROVING THAT THE ART OF PAINTING IN OIL WAS KNOWN  
BEFORE THE PRETENDED DISCOVERY

OF  
JOHN AND HUBERT VAN EYCK;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THEOPHILUS DE ARTE PINGENDI  
ERACLIUS DE ARTIBUS ROMANORUM.

AND  
A REVIEW OF FARINATOR'S LUMEN ANIMÆ,

BY  
R. E. R A S P E. *K*

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*In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas.*

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L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,  
BY H. GOLDNEY;

AND SOLD BY T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND:  
M.DCC.LXXXI.

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A REVIEW OF FACIATORS LUMEN ANIMAE  
64

BY  
R. E. R. A. S. T. E.



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MDCCLXXXII



# C O N T E N T S.

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## ON THE

## DISCOVERY OF OIL PAINTING.

**T**HE Arts in general and especially those, which prove most useful to mankind, have ever been looked upon as great benefits to human nature for the support, the ease and the embellishments of life; and it is but common justice to consider them in that light, which raises them every way above the idler speculations of sophists and philosophers. *Positive* truths and realities are their objects and their pursuits, and immediate *positive* advantage is their result and reward; whereas the greater part of sciences deal only in *ideal beings* (Entibus rationis) in intellectual or sentimental objects, and in possibilities, which produce no other advantage but that of pleasing our fancy and of flushing our self-conceited pride.

It is no wonder therefore, that a sense of gratitude should have prompted the unbiaſſed and untutored mind of nations scarce emerged from brutal barbarism, to rank the first inventors or improvers of the most useful arts amongst the Gods, which they adored. Their superior ingenuity was to those ignorant barbarians wondrous indeed! nor, as they derived immediate advantages from their inventions, were they to blame for an excess of credulous and fond gratitude. Whatever characterises God to men, superior wisdom and benevolent goodness, they found and revered in their kind benefactors the inventors, improvers, and teachers of those arts; but let us observe likewise, whatever characterises the folly of superstition under the baneful influence of ignorance

rance and of crafty priests, we find in the history of those adored and worshipped inventors. *Darkness visible* clouds their history in the same manner that it clouded the nature of the other objects of their worship. The consequence was that almost every polished nation of antiquity has laid claim to the honour of having invented these arts, and that scarce any branch of history is more involved in darkness and obscurity than that of their first origin. Many circumstances have certainly cooperated to make it so; first, the high antiquity, to which the greater part of the most necessary arts may be traced, and of which scarce any monuments have been handed down to our present times; and then that national pride and spirit, which ever has divided mankind and ever will prompt them to universal dominion and pre-eminence. It is so glorious and so honourable to have made some useful discovery, and we are so very apt to catch that infection of national vanity, which boasts a long series of glorious inventors, great geniusses and immortal worthies, that we have no reason indeed to wonder at these national disputes about the origin of many arts; but many, not to submit to barefaced contradictory assertions. If the first historians and annalists had been less engaged in recording those bloody revolutions, which are so hurtful to mankind; if historians had been free independent philosophers, instead of being, during a long series of barbarous ages, poor slavish monks and friars, who knew very little and dared to say less; if there had been learned and independent societies to encourage and record useful discoveries; and if from the earliest antiquity governments and sovereigns had granted patents to the ingenuity, or, which is too often the case, to the monopolizing spirit of inventors and improvers: then it would have been a more easy task, to settle these disputes and to give every one his due. But the case is quite otherwise. The men who first invented husbandry, the use of metals, the plough, and those tools and instruments, which have added so much to our natural powers; the savage American, who first discovered the beneficial virtues of the bark; the

the godlike inventor of the art of writing, and of fixing and transmitting our ideas; the first shipwright, sailor and astronomer, and many other such benefactors of mankind are unknown. We enjoy the benefits of their ingenuity, spirit and liberality, as the gifts of invisible unknown divinities; and we are still to look about us for a true history of the origin and progress of the arts, which are the best inheritance of mankind, and adorn and embellish these our present times more and more generally than any preceding period.

Such an history is a very pleasing and entertaining subject. Though at first sight it seems calculated only for the satisfaction of antiquaries, yet on nearer enquiry it will appear to be equally desirable to the philosopher, and of great use to artists, mechanicks and merchants, for it points out to them, from what small beginnings, how, where and when the arts arose; how they were transmitted to us; by what methods, men, and revolutions they were improved; to what degree of perfection they were brought formerly, or are arrived at present; and finally, how far they might, or ought to be improved in after times.

The arts, the mechanical as well as the politer ones, go hand in hand with science and learning; and as experience has shewn, that the literary history of the sciences has proved extremely beneficial to their improvement, a faithful history of their sister arts bids fair to produce the same advantages. *Lord Bacon* justly observed, that the history of mankind for want of the then too much neglected history of sciences looked like the colossal figure of a blind Cyclops; \* *Leibnitz* was as warm in its praises. He considered literary history as one of the most material parts of a great encyclopedy, in which he intended to give a concise account of every science, of their origin, progress and present state, of their principles and of the knowledge thence deduced, in order to ascertain the different degrees of certainty and latitude of knowledge, to which

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we

\* De augmentis Scientiarum, Lib. II.



we are arrived in every branch of science, and then to give hints and methods for improving and extending it, wherever it might appear to be deficient.\* The observations and the example of these two great men have been well attended to since in respect to the history of the sciences; but literary history is yet greatly deficient in respect to that of the arts. Some of the politer, as architecture, sculpture, the arts of painting, engraving and printing have indeed been taken notice of, but the mechanical ones, which I look upon to be the most useful, have been almost absolutely neglected, for a variety of reasons, which I have pointed out in my prefaces to *Ferber's* and *Baron Born's* mineralogical travels, through Italy, Hungary and Transsylvania. But ought the ignorance and mistaken pride of the learned on one hand, and of the illiterate artists on the other, to prevent us any longer from filling up these blanks in our literary history?

The historical and literary knowledge of our arts and sciences is for the learned and for the artists, what maps are for the warrior, the traveller,

\* The curious remains of this noble yet unfinished work are preserved in his Majesty's library at Hanover. As I have often perused them I beg leave to observe here, that they are most part written on little scraps of paper, and that by a natural and almost unavoidable consequence of this singular method of collecting materials, they are in great confusion, so that there is no hope of ever bringing them again into that systematical order for which the author had intended them. It appears however from some imperfect manuscripts in his own hand-writing, that he had actually begun to digest these crude materials for a *novum organum de augmentis & incrementis scientiarum*. *Alstedii Encyclopædia*, a valuable old performance, seems to have been the canvas, on which he meant to work. At least he had a very great opinion of it. His new and universal characteristick, which is something like *Wilkins's* universal or philosophical language, was chiefly intended for this work. This plainly appears from the just mentioned fragments, and from some dissertations, which I have published from his manuscripts at Hanover in a collection of his philosophical posthumous works, printed at Amsterdam in the year 1765.

veller, and the sailor. If they are imperfect they will of course expose them to loss of time, and very often to ruin and disgrace. Let us rectify them to the utmost of our power, and draw the frequently visited coasts and regions of our knowledge as well as those unexplored parts and lower countries, which have been too much neglected. Let us not only climb the giddy heights of Parnassus, Atlas and Olympus, but survey likewise the humbler plains and regions which surround them.

For these and similar reasons, the authors of the French encyclopedy and their numerous offspring of other encyclopedists, but especially the respectable editors of the French history of the mechanical arts have of late attempted to give us some nearer and chiefly practical accounts of the arts; and I have begun to gather materials for an exacter investigation of their origin and progress, and for those literary accounts, which will promote their scientific knowledge and be subservient too to make their practice more easy and better understood. It is in this point of view that I lately drew up some short literary sketches of the art of mining and its collateral science of mineralogy;\* and that I submit this present publication to the judgment of the publick, and of the connoisseurs in particular.

I own, that a similar intention and a natural ambition of proving useful, animated me, when I first thought of opening lectures on literary history; and I am bold to hope, these my well-meant attempts and intentions will meet with a share of that generous encouragement, which of late has improved and brought the arts and sciences to so high a degree of perfection.

The beautiful flower and the well tasted fruit we enjoy, will of themselves engage liberal and inquisitive minds, bent on improvement, to

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know

\* Preface on the improvement of mineralogy prefixed to *Ferber's* mineralogical travels through Italy; and another on the origin, progress and present state of the art of mining, added to *Born's* travels through Hungary.

know from what seed and from what climate they sprung, and by what steps they came to perfection; nor will the faithful historian, who told it, be looked upon as an idle story teller.

So much in general on the history of the *Arts*, as a desirable and necessary supplement to literary history.

I have observed already, that some of the *politer arts* have not been so much neglected in point of history, as the mechanical ones; yet even their history is far from being satisfactory. Their first origin is scarce to be traced, and many assertions have been received as well authenticated facts, without any good authority. This is in particular the case of the Art of Painting in Oil, which the learned and the artists have almost unanimously looked upon as a modern invention, never practised before the earlier part of the XVth Century. They have almost as unanimously ascribed it to *John Van Eyck* or *Van Bruges* and his brother *Hubert*, two celebrated Flemish painters. Some learned men of great authority, and some facts of great importance should have prevented them indeed from being so positive in these assertions; but old established opinions do not give easily way to better information; they are very apt even to prevent doubts and enquiry.

*Aubertus Miraëus* \* seems to have been the first, who looked upon the accounts of *John Van Eyck's* invention as very exceptionable. He mentions some Flemish oil paintings, done before his period. *Malvasia* † described some of the same kind which are preserved at Bologna in Italy; and Mr. *Horace Walpole* ‡ has lately favoured the publick with some unquestionable facts, which prove to the unbiassed, that Oil Painting was known and practised in this kingdom long before the times, in which *John Van Eyck* is reported and supposed to have invented it in Flanders.

\* In Chron. Belgico ad. ann. 1410.

† In Felsina Pittrice, Tom. 1. p. 27.

‡ Anecdotes of Painting in England. Strawberry Hill. 1762. Vol. I. p. 6—23.



Flanders. A very learned German literator, *Jac. Fred. Reimman* \* and Count *Caylus* † seemed not only to question *John Van Eyck's* invention, but even to suppose, that the ancient Greek and Roman artists were not unacquainted with the practice of painting in oil. I shall take more notice of these facts and opinions in a more convenient place, in order to observe here only, that whatever claims other artists, other nations, and other ages might have pleaded, either for having invented or used oil painting before *J. Van Eyck's* period, the general opinion prevailed in his favour.

Let us see therefore on what foundation it was established: on what historical proofs. Is there any authority for it in coeval writers? Or has the pretended inventor authenticated his discovery on his first works with the same frankness as the first printers dared to authenticate theirs? And where are those works, those unquestionable vouchers? Mr. *Lessing*, first librarian to the Duke of Brunswick at Wolfenbittel, has lately published an excellent German pamphlet on this subject, ‡ and it is partly with his arguments that I shall endeavour to treat of it in a satisfactory manner. He says "That scarce any thing can be answered to these questions, that the newest and best authors on the art of painting have referred him from one to another, and lastly to *Vasari* as the only evidence in behalf of *Van Eyck*." And so it is. Even his warmest partizans refer us to him. It will be proper therefore to get nearer acquainted with him.

The first edition of his lives of the painters, published by himself, is printed at Florence, *appresso J. Giunti*, in the year 1566. In this work he

\* In his literary history of the Germans, published in German, 1709. Part ii. p. 287.

† Reflexions sur quelques chapitres, de Plin dans les memoires de Litterature. Tom. xxv. p. 173.

‡ Vom Alter der Oelmahlerrey. Braunschweig. 1774. 8vo.

he speaks of the invention of Oil Painting in two different places; once in the 21st chapter of the Introduction, and the second time in the life of *Antonello di Messina*; and in both places he certainly gives the honour of the invention to *John Van Eyck*—with what propriety or impropriety we shall see directly. Before *Vasari's* times *altissimum silentium*! No Flemish or Dutch historians, anterior to *Vasari* in point of time, dare to ascribe this invention to their countryman.

The best Flemish annalist before *Vasari* is *Jacob Meyer*. He died in 1552. His *Flandricarum rerum Libri xvii.* which comprehend the history of the Netherlands down to 1477, and were published in 1561, do not mention any thing about it; nor can it be said he disdained to speak of such matters, for in another work of his, the *Flandricarum rerum Tomis X.* printed at Bruges in 1533, he praises Bruges for the ingenuity of several painters and sculptors, that had been thence invited over to Denmark and to Norway\*. But the case is quite different ever since the year 1566, when *Vasari's* book had made its appearance. Every chronicle, or other Flemish or Dutch historical compilation, is observed then to mention *Van Eyck's* invention, and very often to puff and to found it with the most extravagant praises; so that *Vasari's* book is to be considered on that account as a second Trojan horse, from which, one knows not why, issued forth numbers of champions and of writers, to fight for *John Van Eyck*—but not to conquer—to write in his behalf—but not to convince.

Even those authors who do not immediately refer us to *Vasari's* evidence in favour of *Van Eyck*, refer us at least to such writers, as undoubtedly had read him and adopted his accounts. Such is for example *Pieter Opmeer*,† who speaking of the two brothers *John* and *Hubert Van Eyck*, confidently relates “*eorum ingeniis primum excogitatum fuisse colores terere oleo lini,*” that their ingenuity had first hit on the idea of grinding

\* See Tom. ix. p. 45.

† Opus Chronologicum.

grinding colours with linseed oil. This author had brought his book down only to the year 1571, and it was first published in the year 1611, with *Lawrence Beyerlinck's* continuations; so that he himself, or at least his continuator and editor, might be justly supposed to have read *Vasari's* book of 1566, or to have been influenced by his opinions, if other circumstances did not prove, that the above passage and work of *Opmeer* have been laid down, altered and amplified from *Charles Van Mander's* lives of the painters, which first appeared in the year 1604, for it contains some circumstances, which are mentioned only by *Van Mander*, and the portraits of the two *Van Eycks*, which are inserted in it, are visibly and undoubtedly copied from those of *Van Mander*.

Of the same kind are those Latin verses of *Dominicus Lampsonius*, which appear under *John Van Eyck's* portrait in *Boullart's Academie des Sciences & des Arts*, Tom. 2, p. 377. They run thus:

Ille ego qui laetos oleo de Semine lini

Expresso docui Princeps miscere colores

Huberto cum fratre. Novum stupuere repertum,

Atque ipsi ignotum quondam fortassis Apelli,

Florentes opibus Brugae: mox nostra per omnem

Diffudi latius probitas non abnuit orbem.

They are taken from the *Eulogia in Effigies Piëtorum celebrium Germaniae inferioris*, which *Lampsonius* had published at Antwerp in 1572, some years after *Vasari's* book was come out.

All then depends on *Vasari's* word and evidence. Let us see therefore who *Vasari* was; and whether his evidence be admissible and sufficient.

As to the first, he is known to have been neither a countryman of *John Van Eyck*, nor to have lived at the same time. He wrote and published his book about one hundred and fifty years after *Van Eyck*; he wrote and published it in Italy, at a great distance from the country and the place, in which *Van Eyck's* invention is reported to have been made, and at a great distance from the monuments, which might have ascer-



tained the truth or pointed out the falsehood of his assertion. Yet how strange! he speaks of *John Van Eyck's* discovery with the confidence of an eye witness, and gives us absolutely no reason, why during an hundred and fifty years, neither Dutch nor other historians should have made the least mention of it, or any proofs, except his own word and the names of some pictures, pretended to have been the first done in oil. We might have taken the word of an eye witness, or have been satisfied with the authority of a coeval writer, able and willing to speak the truth: but as that is not the case of *Vasari*, and as neither he nor other modern historians have given or quoted any older authority for his assertion, contradicted by some facts, his word seems to be little to be depended upon, being at best but an echo of hearsay and of vague oral traditions, which at such a distance of time, and under such circumstances must be allowed to have but a very small degree of credibility.

But does not he mention *John Van Eyck's* first oil paintings? Again on hearsay; for he does not affirm, that he saw or examined them himself, nor does he prove by other authorities that they really were the first paintings done in oil. They may be oil paintings, nay, *John Van Eyck's* too; that I mean not to question; but can that alone establish *John Van Eyck's* claim to the invention, or support *Vasari's* assertion?

His account, though during these last two hundred years almost universally and unanimously received, has not been improved or strengthened by those who adopted it; nor is that to be wondered at, as good natured or partial believers have scarce ever added any thing to the credibility or evidence of their belief. *Charles Van Mander*, the first, who wrote on the history of painting after *Vasari*, says scarce any thing, but what *Vasari* had said before him. Yet he was a Netherlander, and as such he had undoubtedly a nearer access to better information, if Flanders and Holland could have afforded him any. The only new informations he gives us, are a compleater list of *John Van Eyck's* paintings, which

# ON THE DISCOVERY OF OIL PAINTING.

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which prove nothing to the purpose, and an inscription from *John Van Eyck's* tombstone, reported to be in the church of S. Donat at Bruges. As I am to draw some inferences from it, I beg leave to insert it.

Hic iacet eximia clarus virtute Joannes,

In quo picturae gratia mira fuit.

Spirantes formas & humum florentibus herbis

Pinxit & ad vivum quodlibet egit opus.

Quippe illi Phidias & cedere debet Apelles,

Arte illi inferior ac Polycletus erat.

Crudeles igitur, crudeles dicite Parcas,

Qui talem nobis eripuerunt virum.

Actum sit lachrymis incommutabile fatum;

Vivat ut in coelis iam deprecare Deum.

I do not dwell on the antiquity and authenticity of this piece of poetry, which certainly does not seem the produce of the earlier part of the 15th century, when *John Van Eyck* died, for the language and the metre are by much too good for his times and for his country; but I must observe, that instead of supporting his claims to the invention, it makes them rather exceedingly doubtful. Had he really had any claims of that kind, the poet would and must certainly have availed himself of the circumstance, and mentioned it in the same strain, in which he put this master above Phidias, Apelles and Polycletus. Silence is here a proof; the more so as *Hubert Van Eyck's* tombstone at S. John's in Ghent \* is absolutely as silent about the same discovery, in which modern authors have reported him to have had so great a share with his brother. Why should the greater merit of these first inventors have been so unaccountably forgotten on their tombstones, when the subaltern merit of having introduced their invention into Italy, has been so highly extolled on the tomb of *Antonello di Messina*? I shall insert *Antonello's* inscription in another place, where I have more occasion for it, in order to make here

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some

\* In Charles Van Mander.

some further remarks on *Van Mander* as an historian and as a copyist of *Vasari*. He says: "By all I can possibly find or conclude, the time " of *John Van Eyck's* discovery of oil painting is the year 1410." \*

It would be very well if he had given us some historical proofs of it, for we are at a loss where to find them, and are rather apt to conclude that his assertion is no more than barefaced guessing from the life-time and period of that Count of Flanders, whom *John Van Eyck* is reported to have served in the quality of a privy counsellor. Nevertheless all the modern historians have unconcernedly adopted this date upon *Van Mander's* authority, nor has any one of them taken the least notice of the judicious doubts of *Aubertus Miræus*, which I shall speak of hereafter.

So much in general on *Vasari's* and *Mander's* credibility as evidences of a fact, which happened a hundred and fifty years before them, in a distant country, where it was not so much as mentioned before them. But let us come to their evidence itself and hear how they tell their story.

*Vasari* tells us in the life of *Antonello di Messina*, that *John Van Eyck*, when he painted in distemper, and had tried many experiments of varnishes † " having once taken great pains in finishing a picture on boards, " he

\* Der tydt wanneer Joannes de Oly verwe gevonden heeft is gheweest by al dat ick vinden en overlegghen can in An. 1410. *Van Mander's Schilderboek*.

† Hora havendo una volta fra l'altre durato grandissima fatica in dipingere una tavola, poi che l'ebbe con molta diligenza condotta a fine, le diede la Vernice e la mise a seccar al Sole come si costuma. Ma o perchè il caldo fusse violento, o forse mal commesso il legname e male stagionato, la detta tavola si aperse in sulle comettiture di mala sorte. Laonde veduto Giovanni il nocumento, che si aveva fatto il caldo del Sole, deliberò di far si, che mai più gli farebbe il Sole così gran danno nelle sue opere. E così recatosi non meno a noja la Vernice che il lavorare a tempera, cominciò a pensare di trovar modo di fare una forte di Vernice, che seccasse all'ombra, senza mettere al Sole le sue pitture. Onde poichè ebbe molte cose sperimentate, e pure e mescolate insieme, alla fine trovò, che l'olio di Seme di



“ he varnished it and put it to dry in the sun as usual. But the heat  
 “ being too violent, or the boards too carelessly joined or seasoned, he  
 “ had the mortification to see that his boards unhappily split asunder;  
 “ whereupon considering the damage he had suffered by the sun, he  
 “ thought of some means to prevent such accidents for the future; and  
 “ tired and disgusted alike with distemper-painting and varnishing, he  
 “ endeavoured to make a varnish that would dry by itself without sun-  
 “ shine. After many trials of various substances pure or mixed, he  
 “ found at last, that linseed and nut oil dried better than any other.  
 “ These therefore he boiled with other mixtures, and thus he produced  
 “ that varnish, he and other artists had been desirous of so long. He  
 “ tried many other things, and observed that the mixing the colours  
 “ with these oils gave them a great strength, and that, when dry, they  
 “ were proof against water, and had a brightness and lustre of their own,  
 “ without being in want of any varnish. What he most wondered at  
 “ was, that they united and worked better than colours in distemper.”

Here is such a jumble of singular circumstances, that instead of sup-  
 porting *Van Eyck's* invention, they should have made it doubtful long  
 since. They need only to be pointed out, and I shall do it with candour.

*John Van Eyck* is said to have painted only in water or distemper colours  
 before he made his invention. That may be, though it will appear that  
 oil painting was known long before him.

Having  
 di lino e quello delle noci, fra tanti che n' haveva provati, erano più seccativi di  
 tutti gli altri. Questi dunque bolliti con altre sue misture gli fecero la Vernice,  
 che egli anzi tutti i Pittori del mondo havevano lungamente desiderato. Dopo  
 fatta Sperienza di molte altre cose, vide che il mescolare i colori con queste forti  
 d'Olii, dava loro una tempera molto forte e che secca non solo non temeva l'acqua  
 altrimenti ma accendeva il colore tanto forte, che gli dava lustro da per se senza  
 Vernice. E quello che più gli parve mirabile fu che si univa meglio che la tem-  
 pera infinitamente. *Vasari vite de' Pittori nella Vita di Antonello di Messina.*

*Having highly finished a picture of that kind on boards, he varnished it and put it to dry in the sun. The nature of his varnish might require it, and some of our varnishes are still dried in that manner, or in hot ovens.*

*He had not used the common linseed-oil varnish, for that he is said to have invented after many trials of various substances pure and mixed, and after having found that linseed and nut oil dry better than any other. These oils dry certainly slower than any other, that will dry at all. Every painter knows it. But be that as it may, if Van Eyck really knew that linseed and nut-oils would dry by themselves, (and it was known long before him) why did he go such unnatural round about ways? Why did he invent the linseed oil varnish sooner than he used the simple oil? Saying that he came at the discovery of oil-painting by that way, and that for fear of accidents from sunshine and from the bending and breaking of the boards of his distemper pictures, he invented the art of painting in oil, is nearly as absurd as saying "somebody burnt and singed his clothes at a stove, " and to prevent similar accidents for the future, he pulled down his " stove and invented the chimney-fire." Linseed oil wants sunshine for drying full as much as some varnishes; it dries sooner if exposed to it; and it would have been more natural for John Van Eyck to have joined his boards with greater care, and to have exposed his pictures to a less immediate action of a violent heat of the sun. They knew many ages before him how to secure pictures on boards from bending and breaking, nor is it likely on that account that any such accident should have befallen him. If nevertheless by his own neglect he had once suffered by it, pray could he reasonably look upon it as a misfortune, which to overcome he must stretch and exert all the intellectual and inventive powers of his mind and ingenuity? Could it give him a dislike to distemper-painting and to varnishing? And are not our oil-paintings on boards subject to similar accidents?*

*Van Mander tells this singular story in the same manner, except that he gives it with some trimmings, as might be expected from a copyist, who*

who would fain pass for an original. According to his account \* *John Van Eyck* was so excellent a chemist, " that he discovered the varnishing " his distemper colours with a varnish, which was made of some oils, " and was very pleasing on account of the gloss and lustre it gave them. " Many artists in Italy had vainly attempted to find out that secret. " They never hit on the true method. It happened once that *John* " having in his usual manner highly finished one of his pictures on " boards, and having varnished it with his new invented varnish, he " exposed it to dry in the sun; but whether the boards were not well " joined

\* Dat hy te weghe bracht zyn Ey-oft Lymverwe te vernissen met eenigh Vernis, ghemaect met eenige Olyen, dat welcke dem volcke seer wel beviel, om dat het werck so een schoon blinckende glans hadde. Nae dit Secreet hadden in Italien veele vergheefs ghesocht: want sy de rechte maniere niet en vonden. Het is eens ghebeurt, dat Joannes hadde ghemaect een Tafel, daer hy grooten tydt, vlyt en arbeydt in hadde ghebruykt (ghelyck hy altyds met groote netticheyt en suyverheyt zyn dinghen dede:) Deze Tafel opgedaen wesende heftse nae zyn nieu inventie, en ghelyck hy nu gewoon was, vernist en stelde te drooghen in de Sonne, maer of de panneelen niet wel ghevoeght en gheleymt en waren, oft de hitte der Sonnen te gheweldig, de Tafel is in den vergaderinghen gheborsten en van een gheveeken. Joannes was seer t' onvreeden, dat zynen arbeydt door de Sonne so verlooren en te niete was, en nam voor hem te maeken, dat zulcke schade door de Sonne hem niet meer en soude overcoomen; des hy de Ey-verwe ent Vernissen vyandt wordende, eyndelyck gingh onderfoecken en overlegghen, om eenig Vernis te maeken, dat in huys en uyt te Sonne drooghen mocht. Doe hy nu veel Olyen en ander dinghen in der natuure hadde vast ondersocht vont hy de Lynsaet en Noet-Oly de drooghendeste van allen den wesen: deze den siedende met eenighe ander stoffen, die hy daerby deede, maecte den beslen Vernis van der Weerekt. En also sulcke werckende wacker gheesten, verder en verder soeckende, nae volcomenheyt trachten, bevont hy met veel onderfoeckens, dat de verwe ghemengheit met sulcke Olyen haer seer wel liet temperen en wel hardt drooghe, en drooghe wesende het water wel verdragen mocht, dat de Oly oock de verwen veel leevender mackten en van selfs een blinckenheyt deden hebben sonder dat mense verniste. *Van Mander's Schilderboeck.*



“ joined, or whether the sun was too violent, the boards split asunder  
 “ and opened in the junctures. *John* saw with concern, that his work  
 “ was spoiled, and resolved to contrive something against future acci-  
 “ dents of the same kind. Having been in that manner disgusted at  
 “ distemper-painting and varnishing, he thought of a varnish that  
 “ might dry without sunshine; and having tried many oils and sub-  
 “ stances, he found that linseed and nut oil dried better than any other.  
 “ He boiled them with some other drugs and produced the best varnish  
 “ in the world. Ever bent on improvement he found after much en-  
 “ quiry, that colours mixed with these oils worked and dried extremely  
 “ well, and when dry, would be water-proof. He observed likewise,  
 “ that these oils would animate and give them a gloss and lustre, with-  
 “ out any further varnishing.”

Here is more indeed than simple trimming. Here is exaggeration. *Vasari* says only, *John Van Eyck* invented linseed and nut oil varnish, and was thereby led to the invention of painting in oil; but *Van Mander* boldly tells us, that he not only invented that but likewise the best varnish of the world, which he had used before in the varnishing of his distemper paintings. This is absolutely false, since even *Vasari* has mentioned several old Italian masters, who used varnishes long before the times of *John Van Eyck*.

Moreover, *Vasari* does not say what the first varnish of *John Van Eyck* was made of; but *Mander* affects to know better. He tells us expressly it was made of some oils. But to what purpose this digression? It will clearly appear in the sequel, that *Vasari* and *Van Mander* are equally mistaken in both their assertions, of *John Van Eyck's* having invented the linseed-oil varnish, and the art of painting in oil.

A further proof that their accounts did not deserve that singular attention, which hitherto has been paid to them, is the following story. They are pleased to tell us, that *Van Eyck* and his friends kept his invention as a secret for themselves, and that no foreign artists could come

at it, till at last *Antonello di Messina* resolved to go on that errand from Italy to Flanders, and that he was clever and happy enough to get it from *Van Eyck* in a friendly manner.

But whoever has eyes to see, and nostrils to smell, will not be easily imposed upon by such a story, for both these senses will convince him, that inventing and using oil colours must have been the same as disclosing the secret to the whole world. The oil betrays itself in newly finished works, and appears so distinctly even under the finest glazing of a *Vander Werff*, that no artist would have been at a loss to distinguish and to smell it. *Vasari* seems to have been very sensible of it. He tells us, \* “ *Although* such paintings had that strong smell about them, “ which fresh oil colours produce, and *though* for that reason it seemed “ a very easy matter to find them out, *nevertheless* it remained a secret “ during many years.” *Van Mander* tells us nearly the same; † for speaking of one of *Van Eyck*’s pictures sent as a curious novelty to King Alfonso of Naples, he says: “ When the picture arrived, the artists “ flocked together at Naples in the same manner as in other places. “ Every one was desirous of seeing this marvellous work; and *though* “ the Italians looked at it very sharply, and tried it with the utmost “ attention, even putting their noses to it, and clearly perceiving the “ strong smell, which it had from the mixture of the colours and the “ oil; *nevertheless* it remained a secret to them.” That indeed is more

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easily

\* *Ancorache* cotali pitture haveffino in se quel odore acuto, che loro davano i colori e gli olii mescolati insieme, e particolarmente quando erano nuovi, onde pareva che fosse possibile a conoscergli, *non però* si trovò mai nello spatio di molti anni.

† Om dit wonderlyck nieuw werck te sien was grooten toeloop van den schilders, gelyck elders oock. En *hoewel* de Italianen vast toefaghen, met alderley opmerckinge, en rickende daer aen, wel bevoelden een starkagtighe roeck, die d’ Oly met den verwen ghemehght van haer gaf, *so* bleef hun dit secret eewenwel verborghen.

easily said than accounted for; and more easily asserted than believed; for a poor and plain *nevertheless* is but a very inconclusive argument against a preceding *although*, and it would be too good-natured to depend in this respect on the improbable tales of these authors, and too ill-natured to follow their example in crippling, laming and blinding the nostrils and eyes of thousands, merely for the sake of one man, and for the sake of a pretended secret, which, obvious in itself, must have been disclosed as soon as it was put in practice. One might say perhaps *John Van Eyck* had a second secret, a varnish for example which enabled him to disguise his chief secret of the oil colours, in such a manner, that it was impossible to discover it by sight or smell. But that should be proved; and if it was, a question would arise, which it would be very hard to answer in a satisfactory manner. It would be natural to ask: if it was impossible to distinguish by sight or smell, that *John Van Eyck's* new finished works were done in oil, how came it to pass that the same appeared, or are since proved, to be oil paintings? and how came *Vasari* himself an hundred and fifty years after, to know it or to be convinced of it?

From all this, for I must sum up the argument, it plainly appears,

1. That neither Dutch nor other historians have mentioned *John Van Eyck* as the first inventor of oil painting, before the times of *Vasari*.
2. That *P. Opmeers* and *Dom. Lampsonii's* evidences in his behalf are taken from *Vasari* or his later copyist *Van Mander*.
3. That *Vasari* being the first and only evidence for *John Van Eyck*, his word is little to be depended upon, because he lived one hundred and fifty years after the event, which he seems to have told only from hearsay without any other proofs.
4. That *Charles Mander*, who copied him, has added nothing material to the credibility of his assertion, either by the inscription on *John Van Eyck's* tombstone, which makes his pretended invention rather doubtful, or by the date, under which he relates it happened.

5. That



5. That *Vasari's* account of that invention is in itself highly improbable, and that,

6. *Van Mander's* is still less to be credited, as without any historical proofs he has amplified and falsified it.

The natural conclusion then will be, that, as modern historians, and the Dutch in particular, have not hitherto added any thing to the credibility of *Vasari's* and *Van Mander's* account, we are at full liberty to look about us for better information, and to be unconcernedly open to better conviction.

Let us see therefore, whether the two celebrated antiquarians, *Jam. Fred. Reimman* and *Count Caylus*, whom I mentioned before, have any thing new or satisfactory to tell us about the subject.

The former told us in his *Literary History of the Germans*, published in German in the year 1709, Part II. p. 287, "That he had many scruples and doubts about *John* and *Hubert Van Eyck* being the first inventors of the art of painting on linen cloth with oil colours."

These scruples and doubts may have been very rational; and for aught we know they may have been something like the above remarks on *Vasari's* credibility. They may have occurred to him as to any other scholar; or as a man of great reading he may have hit on some account of older oil paintings, or on some records or circumstance in the ancients, to justify and to raise some scruples of that kind. Yet he does not chuse to tell us what these his scruples were. Whatever they were, it is hoped for his own sake they were established on something better than that passage of *Seneca*, which he quotes in the above publication, Part I. p. 136. Speaking in that place of the state of painting during the monkish ages, he says:

"The monks had a certain *Ars graphica*, which is now lost. They took thin gold leaves and pasted them on parchment, *forſan ut com-monſtrarent Senecæ non tantum ex oleo & luto conſtare hanc artem.*" At first sight this sentiment or passage of *Seneca* seems to be strikingly applicable

to the art of painting in *oil* with *earth colours*, nay, in a certain respect to imply, what *Reimman* intended to prove by it, that the monks were gone further in the art of painting than the Romans or ancients themselves; yet on nearer examination, it plainly appears, that good Mr. *Reimman* was not perhaps guilty of any such assertion, and that having only indulged the pedantry of the age and the country he lived in, he has rather in a ridiculous manner, misapplied to painting, what *Seneca* had said only of the gymnastick arts of boxing and wrestling. *Seneca* says,\* “ I cannot prevail on myself to admit painters, statuaries, marble-cutters, and other such ministers of luxury amongst the professors of the liberal arts. For similar reasons, I expel from amongst us, the wrestlers, and the whole science, which consists of oil, dust and dirt; or you must grant me to receive likewise perfumers and cooks amongst us.” No body in his senses will torture this innocent passage of that proud and conceited Stoïcian into an evidence for the antiquity of painting in oil; nor am I willing for that reason, to suppose my learned and pedantick countryman guilty of so disgraceful a blunder.

*Count Caylus* gives us no better information. Strongly biassed, partly by his prejudice in favour of the ancients, and partly by his preconceptions against oil painting, which he was to depreciate and to vilify, in order to set off his pretended new Encaustick, or painting in wax, he says,† “ We are used indeed to prepare our colours with oil, and to make  
“ that

\* Non adducor ut in numerum liberalium artium pictores recipiam, non magis quam statuarios, aut marmorarios aut caeteros luxuriae ministros. Aequè luctatores & totam ex oleo ac luto constantem scientiam expello ex his studiis liberalibus: aut & unguentarios recipiam & coquos. *Senec. Ep. LXXXVI.*

† Nous avons il est vrai la façon de mêler nos couleurs avec l'huile & d'en faire la base de la plus grande partie de nos operations. Il se pourrait peutetre que les anciens ne l'ont pas tant ignorée qu'on se l'imagine, eux qui ont eu tant de preparations & mixtions. Celle dont il s'agit, etait même des plus simples. Quoi-qu' il en soit, voyons si l'ayant connue ils ont si mal fait de la negliger. *Reflexions quelques chapitres de Plinè dans les Memoires de Literature. Tom. XXV.*

" that the basis of all our operations. But it is likely *the ancients were*  
" *less ignorant of the same, than we are apt to imagine.* They knew of many  
" preparations and mixtures, and that, which we are speaking of, is  
" certainly the simplest and most obvious of any. However that may  
" be, and upon a supposition they knew something of it, let us see whe-  
" ther they were much to blame for having neglected it."

But let us see rather, and candidly examine, what *Count Caylus*, or any other fond and partial admirer of the higher antiquity might have said in favour of the Egyptians, the Grecians, and the Romans, and in support of their knowledge of oil colours. He and other antiquaries have left us the task to try their monuments and their written accounts; and I shall attempt it to the best of my knowledge, and to the utmost of my powers.

I must first then speak of the Egyptian paintings, as being supposed to be in point of time anterior to those of the Grecians and Romans. There are many remaining, some on walls, some on wood, some on cloth, and some perhaps of a different kind, burnt-in by fire, or laid-in as mosaic. Of the latter kind are some enamelled figures, which are now and then found in the cabinets of the curious, and that celebrated *Isiac table* in the cabinet of the King of Sardinia, which is of brass, inlaid with silver and other metals.\* They cannot give us any light in respect to the subject and method we are speaking of here. The Egyptian pictures on walls, preserved in the ruins of Thebes, and in other parts of Egypt, have not been sufficiently examined by the learned travellers, who saw and noticed them, as very remarkable on account of the brightness of their unimpaired colours. Therefore no inference can be drawn from their

\* Laur. Pignorii Tab. Isaca, and Keysser's Travels through Italy; but especially *Recherches philosophiques sur les Chinois*, par Mr. de Pauw, Vol. I. where the *Isiac table* is proved to be a work of the second century, done in Italy.



their accounts.† But the pictures on the Mummies will enable us to trace some mechanical practices of painting to the remotest antiquity. I have examined some of them, preserved in the *British Museum*, in Dr. *William Hunter's* cabinet here at London, and in the publick library of the university at *Cambridge*, with that attention and respect to several arts, which these monuments of the earlier antiquity deserve; and if the result of my observations should prove satisfactory to the antiquaries and dilettanti, they are indebted for it to the neglect of other observers, and to the liberality of those gentlemen, who indulged my inquisitiveness, even so far as to allow me to try some experiments.

Dr. *Hunter's* mummy is rather in a state of decay, which proved an advantage to my enquiries; for the coffin or box of sycamore wood is almost entirely deprived of the paintings, which formerly embellished its outside, but the chalk or plaister-ground, on which they were executed, remains in many parts, and appears to be laid immediately on the wood. It is loose and friable; and does not for that reason appear to have been applied, mixed, or much saturated with any gum or any oil.

The same chalk-ground appears on the painted cloth, in which the mummy itself is wrapt up. It appears every where on the wood as well as the cloth in the thickness of a sixpence or a shilling; in short, it has in every respect the appearance and nature of the chalk-ground, which is prepared with size, and has been used by many painters of the modern schools for distemper painting, as well as for oil colours.

I have observed the same chalk-ground under the paintings of the coffin and mummy at *Cambridge*, and under the paintings of those which are preserved in the *British Museum*.

Here then we have traced a mechanical practice of the art to a very remote

† See Pocock's, Shaw's, Norden's, Maillet's, and other modern travels to Egypt.

remote antiquity, not by any written account, but by unquestionable monuments.

The Greeks and Romans were certainly acquainted with the same, for *Pliny* speaks of it and distinguishes it from the lime or fresco-ground. He calls it *Creta* or *Cretula*, and describes it as a dry ground, fit to receive and to imbibe certain colours, which cannot be easily laid on the wet lime or fresco-ground †. He might have recommended it as being the fittest for boards, whether designed for distemper or oil-painting, and as being better calculated for oil-painting than any other harder ground, since imbibing the oil it naturally prevents its forming a skin over the colours, and accordingly keeps them clearer and brighter.

The whiteness of its colour and the smoothness, which it takes by polishing, are two other advantages of some consequence. It is for very good reasons then, that the Egyptians, the Greeks, and Romans used it, that the practice has been handed down to us uninterrupted and forgotten. The old gothick paintings on boards are constantly laid on this ground; and the first and modern masters of the Roman and Venetian schools, Raphael, Paul Veronese, and many others have recommended it by their example to the latest posterity.

Although of great use in oil-painting, no inference however can be drawn from it in favour of the ancients or of their knowledge of oil-painting; for many distemper-pictures are done on the same ground; and it might have answered the same end for wax-paintings, as the better pictures of the ancients seem to have been generally executed on boards, well joined, seasoned, and grounded. To prove this from *Pliny* or other ancient Authors, would be an idle display of learning. The very name  
of

† *Ufus in Creta, calcis impatiens, Plin. H. nat. xxxiii. c. xiii. ex omnibus coloribus Cretulam amant, udoque illini recusant purpurissum, &c. Ibid xxxv. c. vii.*

of *Tabula* or *Tabula picta* is more than sufficient to warrant the assertion; and *Pliny* says, xxxv. c. x. "Nulla gloria artificum est, nisi eorum qui tabulas pingunt."

Another very old practice, I mean the varnishing of pictures, seems to bring us a step nearer to the discovery of oil-painting, or rather it seems to imply that the ancients knew something of it.

There are two kinds of varnishes, which produce nearly the same effect, that is, mixed with colours or laid on pictures, they give them an agreeable brightness, a glossy skin, a lustre, and a hardness, which makes them impenetrable to water, and accordingly preserves them from almost every accident of wet, smoke, dust, and flies. Moreover, they give a strength and a body to the colours, which neither size nor gum can give them. They consist of transparent resinous gums, dissolved either in spirits or in oils, inspissated by boiling. Though their above-mentioned effect is the same, yet the difference of their solvent or menstruum produces this remarkable difference, that varnishes of distilled spirits may be dissolved again by the same kind of spirits, and that those made of inspissated oils will resist the action of spirits, as well as of oils, applied and rubbed on their surface.

The ancients could not possibly know any thing about the spirit-varnishes, distillation being a modern invention; but they were undoubtedly acquainted with the use of the better oil varnishes, that is, with the use and effect of resinous gums dissolved in boiling inspissated oil. I have many proofs of it.

One of the best preserved mummies in the British Museum had ever struck me by an astonishing brightness of colours on the outside of the coffin. Thousands of years have not impaired them. They are as fresh as if they had been laid on but yesterday.

The above-mentioned chalk-ground, and the excellence of the colours, some of which imply a good deal of chemical and metallurgical knowledge



ledge\*, do not sufficiently account for that phenomenon; it must be owing to other circumstances, either to the mixture of the shining colours, or to a hard glossy skin which visibly covers them all over.

Common size, the clarified white of eggs or gum, could not possibly produce that effect. I was therefore inclined to look upon it as an effect of wax-painting, till in April, 1779, I had an opportunity of trying an innocent but satisfactory experiment on that mummy, which belongs to the Publick Library of the University of Cambridge. It has the same glossy and shining skin, which I have just noticed. The result of my experiments was,

1. That the colours, and the glossy skin, which covers and unites them, were not dissolved or in the least affected by common water, and that they might be washed and cleaned with water without rubbing off; accordingly that they are mixed, prepared, or covered with a harder substance than size, simple gums, or the white of eggs, which are used in distemper.

2. That they as perfectly resisted the dissolving power of spirits, nay, even that of double distilled lavender-water, and of alcohol or æther, which are known to be the strongest solvents of wax; and that accordingly they are not painted, mixed, prepared, or glazed over with wax, or a spirit-varnish, but that they must have been, if not prepared, at least glazed and covered with a fine transparent oil-varnish.

Still I am far from presuming to assert, that these colours were prepared and mixed with oil-varnish, because I observed,

3. That, wherever the external glossy skin was damaged, broken, or rubbed off, even common water would wash the colours away and affect the chalk-ground under them, from which it seems to follow, that they were laid on with common size, eggs, or gum, *before* they were covered

E

with

\* This I took notice of in one of my notes to Mr. Ferber's Travels through Italy.

with oil-varnish; nor do I in the least pretend, that the varnishing of the mummies was a constant or general practice, for the paintings of Dr. *Hunter's* before-mentioned mummy are without any appearance of varnish, and for aught I know there may be many of the same kind in other cabinets, whose colours will wash and rub off with common water.

Unless therefore it should be proved or appear, that the mummies in the British Museum, at Cambridge, and in other cabinets, have been varnished in modern times, in order to preserve them the better, or to make them the more showy, which indeed is not impossible and might very well come into the head of an ignorant impostor of an antiquarian, in the same manner as several years ago it came into the head of an ignorant naturalist to paint and varnish the fossils, crystallisations and ores in the cabinet of the Landgrave of Hesse at Cassel; we are entitled to conclude from these Egyptian mummies, that the Egyptians were acquainted with the use and effects of oil-varnishes. There is no visible external mark on these mummies, which could possibly raise any doubt about the antiquity and the authenticity of the varnish which covers them; nor is such an ignorant and absurd imposition to be supposed in the common course of things; for a man might travel all over Europe, over and over again, without meeting any where but at Cassel with a cabinet of fossils and natural curiosities so curiously painted and varnished.

We have no direct proofs, either from written records or monuments, that the use of oil-varnishes was more general amongst the Grecian and Roman artists; but some of them were certainly acquainted with it, and availed themselves of the advantage thence to be derived. "Apelles," says *Pliny*\*, "was inimitable in one thing. He passed over his finished works:

\* Unum imitari nemo potuit, quod absoluta opera atramento illinebat ita tenui, ut id ipsum repercussu claritates colorum excitaret, custodiretque a pulvere & sordibus, ad manum intuenti demum appareret. Sed & tum ratione magnâ, ne colorum claritas oculorum aciem offenderet, veluti per lapidem specularem intuentibus e longinquo, & eadem res nimis floridis coloribus austeritatem occulte daret. *Plin. H. nat. xxxv. c. 10.*

“ works with a blackish liquor (*Atramento*) which by its shining gloss  
 “ and refraction quickened the brightness of the colours, and preserved  
 “ and covered them against dust and dirt; yet it was so thin, that it  
 “ could not be discerned but close by. He had another very good rea-  
 “ son for using it, that the brightness of the colours might not prove  
 “ offensive to the eye; for they appeared as if they were seen at a dis-  
 “ tance through isinglass, and the same liquor lowered the tone of the  
 “ too florid colours in an imperceptible manner.”

It would be very illiberal and uncandid to reproach *Pliny* for not having explained himself better, and for having called the varnish of Apelles *Atramentum*, because this word implies with us an idea of ink, or at least of a blackish liquor resembling ink. It should be considered, that he spoke of the varnish of Apelles as of a secret, and by hearsay; and that the word *Atramentum*, which he makes use of, might have signified a quite different thing and mixture in the technical language of the painters, than in that of the copyists, notaries, or librarians. Moreover, the appearance of oil-varnish, which is generally thick and of a dark brownish or blackish colour, might very well warrant an author, who is ignorant of its nature and looks upon it as a secret, to call it *Atrament*, or a kind of ink, the more so as there may have been something particular in the mixture of the varnish, which Apelles made use of. *Pliny* says expressly, that it lowered the tone of the brisker florid colours, at the same time they appeared as if seen at a distance through isinglass. This seems to imply, that it was mixed with some Asphalt, Spanish liquorice, or other substances of that kind, which some modern artists use in the composition of their varnishes and oils, for similar and various other purposes. Would not that the more forcibly account for the name of *Atrament*? It certainly would give a blacker ink-like appearance to the varnish, be productive of the effect as described by *Pliny*, and at the same time account for the particular secret of Apelles. Let artists judge of it. Antiquaries will consider, that the general effect and the common mixture of the Egyptian



oil-varnish could not possibly be a secret to the Greek artists; and connoisseurs will please to remember, that many excellent modern artists, especially those treacherous Pasticcio-painters, who make *Rapbaels*, *Corregios*, and *Paul Veroneses* by the dozen, use and have used similar mixtures of oils and of oil-varnishes\*, which are not known to many of their fellow-artists, and might be very well looked upon as a secret. *Van Heyden* has probably glazed and varnished his pictures in such a manner. Some Venetian masters are supposed to have done the same; and that fine *patina* of many a dear bought old master, is very often no more than some thin solution of asphalt or liquorice, rubbed over a tolerable copy, with some varnish or oil. It is not the slow working pencil of time, which has lowered and harmonized the tone of the brisker florid colours; it is the hand of the cunning impostor.

But be that as it may, *Pliny* has described the general and particular effects of the varnish of *Apelles*, under the name of atrament, so clearly and so distinctly, that no body the least conversant in those matters can possibly mistake the thing, and the mixture he is speaking of. He has mentioned the shining glossy skin of the varnish, which excites the glow and brightness of the colours, and preserves them against dirt and dust; he observed, that this skin was laid on so thin, that it could not be discerned but close by; nor was he less accurate in reporting the particular effects of that mixture which *Apelles* made use of; it harmonized and lowered the tone of the briskest florid colours in an imperceptible manner, and the whole appeared as if seen at a distance through isinglass. I would ask the artists, chernists, and connoisseurs, whether they know of any liquid substance or mixture fit to produce these effects besides the varnishes? If there are not, as to my knowledge seems to be the case, *Apelles* and the Greeks were undoubtedly acquainted with the oil-varnishes.

\* Fra i Pittori vi son genti si leste

Con un certo licor, che non si scerne,

Fanno antiche apparir certe lor Teste.

*Salv. Rosa. Satira Sopra la Pittura.*

nishes — a fact which cannot be questioned, and which might be strongly urged in behalf of their knowledge of oil-colours.

The black outlines of the figures on the most ancient Greek paintings yet extant, that is on the Etruscan Vases are so sharp, so even, so thick, and drawn in so easy and masterly a manner, that one cannot help admiring them in that respect, and looking upon them as drawn in oil-colours. Had they been drawn in distemper or water colours on the red clay ground on which they are applied, they would have been imbibed and soaked into it; the lines could not be so bold or so sharp; the size or water would have tainted the ground on both sides of the line; and it would have been almost impossible to draw them so even and so thick as they really appear above the ground. Our china and enamel painters prepare and apply their colours with Spick or other liquid oils, in order to prevent these and other inconveniencies; and the Greek masters seem to have done the same, unless they should appear to have burnt their vases before they painted them, or to have used a mixture of dissolved wax or gum for giving a body to their colours, which might have answered the same end as oil. But how are we to try or to ascertain it? The last fire, which acted on the vases and vitrified and smelted their colours, has destroyed every appearance of their former state, and has volatilized the liquid wherewith they were applied. It has left us nothing but fallacious appearances, from which it would be presumptuous to draw any positive conclusion, especially as there is some reason to believe that these vases went through two different fires, that of baking them, and that of smelting or burning in their colours.

I hasten therefore to the old Greek and Roman paintings that have been preserved and discovered at Rome, and especially at Herculaneum, in order to try whether they will prove any thing in favour of the antiquity of oil-painting.

They do not countenance the supposition; at least *Turnbull*\*, the academist

\* Turnbull on Ancient Painting.

demists at Naples who have described the Royal Collection at *Portici* \*, *Cochin* †, and many other authors, who have seen and described them, do not hint any thing of that nature. The late Abbé *Winckelmann* was very particular in their description, and in the account which he gave of the discoveries at Herculaneum, as well in his valuable history of the arts, as in a particular publication inscribed to Count *Brühl*; yet with all his partiality for the ancients, he observed nothing which might have proved their acquaintance with oil-colours; nor do I suppose that the closest attention and examination would trace in them any mechanical operations or mixtures, but such as belong to distemper or fresco-painting, or as might belong perhaps to wax-painting. They are most part painted on walls, or on an incrustation of lime-chalk or plaister-ground; a few smaller ones excepted, which are painted in red on black marble slabs. Some of the first kind I have had an opportunity of seeing myself. One, representing an Hercules, I saw in the collection of his Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia, at Berlin. It is of unquestionable authenticity; for the King of Spain made a present of it to His Highness, by his minister the Duke of S. Elisabeth. Another very fine one, formerly belonging to Dr. Mead, and engraved in *Turnbull's* Treatise on Ancient Painting, and representing a sitting Minerva, is now in the possession of the Earl of Chesterfield here at London; and I remember to have seen a third of as unquestionable authenticity, in the Earl of Besborough's noble collection at Roehampton. They are all of them painted on a rough lime-ground in water-colours; but I cannot pretend to say whether all or which of them are to be looked upon as fresco, or as distemper-paintings. There are several of both kinds at *Portici*. A very singular experiment, tried there, has proved it. They have varnished them for their better preservation, and the consequence has been, that the surface  
of

\* *Pitture di Ercolano ovvero Antichità di Ercolano esposte*, iv. Volumes, Folio.

† *Cochin & Bellicard sur les decouvertes de Herculaneum*.



of some has been greatly damaged by it, and that the colours of some others have been greatly improved, which plainly argues the before-mentioned two different methods of painting; for the external skin or surface of the distemper-paintings must of course fly off and shiver to pieces, whereas the colours of the fresco-paintings, having penetrated deeper into the body of the wet lime-ground, and being less subject to the same accident, must bear the varnish better, and suffer no other alteration by it than what arises from its oily nature. In their pure original state in which they were found, there was nothing that betrayed either oil or varnish; they are therefore far from raising any suspicion in favour of oil-painting.

If other pictures on walls, pretended to be found at Herculaneum, should be handed about here or abroad, as proofs of its antiquity, I would beg to look at them very sharply, and well to remember, that there has been a famous Venetian pasticcio-painter, one *Antonio Guerra*, who since the discovery of Herculaneum, had made it a very profitable trade to himself to manufacture Herculanean pictures, and to sell them to the unwary and ignorant, especially to the Jesuits of Rome, and to many foreign half-connoisseurs of fortune, who go there for the improvement and amusement of the modern Romans, rather than for their own. I have seen some of his works in the cabinet of a great Sovereign in Germany. They were proved to have been paid five hundred pounds a piece, and they were warranted authentic originals by his Highness's word and commands. But the imposition was too gross to be swallowed by any other than by the cheated purchaser himself. They were painted in oil, and bedaubed with inscriptions, which do not belong to any language or alphabet; moreover, they were so diametrically opposite to the taste and principles of the ancients, in point of forms and manners, that I do not apprehend any intelligent connoisseur would ever draw rash consequences from them, or from similar impostures.

*Vitruvius*, who has left us so many valuable notices of the ancient arts,  
acquaints

acquaints us, that there was a kind of painting which absolutely required a mixture of oil. He says: "To fix the colour of polished red lead, which nicer people will be desirous of, let the walls dry well, polish them, and brush them over with red wax, which is to be melted by a gentle fire, and *to be mixed with some oil*. Then pass some coals in a pan, under or before the wax-painted wall, and warm it till it sweats, in order to smooth and even it. At last it must be polished and rubbed over with candles and clean linen, in the same manner as naked marble statues are used to be polished. Thus the skin of red wax prevents the moon and sun shine from drawing the wax from these paintings\*." Pliny explains this in the following manner. "Sun and moon shine," he says, "are inimical and obnoxious to red lead. The remedy is to apply the red wax, when hot and melted, *with some oil*, on the well dried walls, which is to be done with brushes; burn and heat it afterwards with coals till it sweats; then polish it with candles, and at last with clean linen cloth, in the same manner that marbles receive the last polishing stroke†."

Though both *Vitruvius* and *Pliny* seem to have been mistaken in respect to the sun and moonshine, yet it is fact, that red lead will tarnish and turn black in the open air, and that the probable remedy against it which

\* Si quis subtilior fuerit & voluerit expolitionem miniacum colorem retinere, cum paries expolitus & aridus fuerit tunc ceram punicam igne liquefactam *pauco oleo temperatam* seta inducat. Deinde postea carbonibus in ferreo vase compositis eam ceram apprime cum pariete calefaciendo, sudare cogat, fiatque ut peræquetur. Postea cum candela linteisque puris subigat, uti signa marmorea nuda curantur. Ita obstant cerae punicae lorica non patitur nec lunae splendorem nec solis radios lambendo eripere ex his politionibus ceram. *Vitruvius* vii. c. 9.

† Solis atque lunae contactus inimicus minio. Remedium ut parieti siccatō *cera punica* cum *oleo liquefacta* candens setis inducatur, iterumque admotis gallae carbonibus aduratur ad sudorem usque: postea candelis subigatur: ac deinde linteis puris sicut & marmora nitescunt. *Plin. N. H.* xxxiii. c. vii.

which they recommended, fairly proves, that the ancients had tried many experiments with oil, and were acquainted with some of its effects.

These two curious passages have not been sufficiently taken notice of by those modern antiquarians and painters, who for these last twenty-five years have so studiously attempted to restore the old Greek encaustic or wax-painting, to its former credit \*; nor am I here any longer to dwell upon them, except just to hint the reason for which Vitruvius and Pliny had recommended the use of some oil in this kind of coarse wax and house-painting. It is very obvious to modellers in wax, and for no other end, than to give the wax a greater hardness and brittleness, which it unavoidably acquires by the addition of some oil. It had not therefore any tendency in itself to forward the discovery of painting in oil, if the atraments and varnishes had not brought it about long before in a more natural manner; nor do I see that other methods of painting in wax would have led to it another way. I have read with the closest attention what the ancients and moderns have told us about them; I have tried some experiments myself; and some very successful ones I have seen executed here in this kingdom by Mr. *Rigaud*, of the Royal Academy, by Sig. *Waldrè*, now established at Stowe, in Buckinghamshire, and by Mr. *John Miller*, F. S. A. † and though something more satisfactory might be said of the ancient wax-paintings, and more should be said of the taste and execution of the works just-mentioned of Mess. *Rigaud*, *Waldrè*, and *Miller*, because they bid fair to prove an advantage to art; yet I question whether their methods in particular, or the various other methods of wax-painting, recommended by Count

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Caylus,

\* Count Caylus, Fratrel, Müntz, Kahlo.

† His three pictures, No. 156, 157, 158, which were exhibited last year at Spring-Gardens, were painted in wax, though it was not mentioned in the catalogue.



Caylus †, Mess. Müntz §, *Fratrell* ||, or *Kablo* \*\*, were the same as those which the ancients used; and lastly, whether any one of them would have promoted or produced the discovery of painting in oil? But I cannot enter into these details, which are foreign to my subject, and would engage me too far.

Let us rather in a few words recapitulate and sum up the evidence which the ancients have given us in behalf of themselves, and of their knowledge of oil-painting.

Their having been acquainted with the white chalk-ground, which many modern masters have used for oil-painting on boards, proves no more than that the ancients might have done the same.

The oil-varnishes used by the Egyptians and by Apelles, might have brought them to the discovery of oil-painting; but as it does not appear from the mummies I have examined, or from the passage of *Pliny* I have commented upon, that their colours were prepared and mixed with that varnish; and as it is plain rather, that this varnish was externally laid over the finished pictures, no other conclusion can be drawn from them,

† *Memoire sur la peinture encaustique & sur la peinture à la cire*, par le Comte Caylus & Mr. *Majault*. Geneve, 1755, 8vo. & un autre dans les *memoires de litterature*, tom. xxv.

§ *Encaustic*, or Count Caylus's method of painting in wax, with a method for fixing of crayons, by J. H. *Müntz*. London, 1760, 8vo.

|| *La cire alliée avec l'huile ou peinture à l'huile cirée*, par *Jos. Fratrel*, à Mannheim, 1770, 8vo.

\*\* German advertisement and short account of the use of *punick-wax*, invented and sold by Mr. *Kahlo* at Berlin. This wax dissolves in water as well as in oil, and is and may prove of great use to the art. But it is a singular mistake that he should have called it *punick-wax*. The *cera punica* of *Vitruvius* and *Pliny* is red—a colore puniceo sive rubro; his is white, and embodies with every colour which is mixed with it.

them, except that they were within sight of the discovery, and that it is a matter of wonder that they should not have laid hold of it.

The outlines of the old Greek or Etruscan vases are fallacious appearances only.

The old Greek and Roman paintings on walls and stones are either painted in distemper and fresco, or they have not been sufficiently examined.

The oil used in the coarser wax and wall-painting, proves at most that experiments had been tried with oils; and as no other monuments are come to my knowledge, which might be alledged in favour of the ancients, it appears to me that we have no *direct proofs* of oil-painting having being used and understood by the Egyptians, Greeks or Romans, and that, however great their skill and ingenuity, they might very well have been within sight and reach of that discovery, and nevertheless have missed it. Inferences and inductions from their superior ingenuity, and from the simplicity of that obvious practice, might induce us into error; for reasonings of that kind are very apt to prove too much; and have more than once ascribed modern discoveries to the ancients, which they were absolutely unacquainted with. It is barefaced chicanery to prove only that a thing *might* or *should* have been discovered in former times. We must unquestionably prove the fact, or hold our tongues about it.

To this law I submit; leaving to warmer advocates of the ancients the pleasure and satisfaction of urging in their behalf as many probabilities and possibilities as they please.

A similar law obliges me to prove by facts, that *Vasari's* later account of *John* and *Hubert Van Eyck's* invention, not only seems to be, but really is, false; and that painting in oil was known and practised in Europe many ages before them. My proofs are clear, plain, and uncontrovertible passages of two inedited works of *Theophilus Presbyter* and

*Eraclius*, and some old oil-paintings, which were respectively written and executed long before the period of *John Van Eyck*.

As to the works just mentioned, it is my duty to ascertain their character and to give some account of them, that their evidence may appear the more unexceptionable: and here I must observe, that the names of their authors are not on the records of fame and celebrity, and that they are both of them far from being commendable either for ingenuity, or for stile and elegance of composition. They have been left hitherto in the dust and darkness of libraries; and modern litterati have scarce so much as mentioned or known them by their names. On these accounts, then, they are as obscure, as any forgotten or neglected bookmaker possibly can be. This however does not imply any prejudice against their veracity, for the obscurest, nay even the poorest and most ignorant person may be a man of honour, and as such tell truth; and librarians have very often happened to keep the most instructive manuscripts in darkness for various reasons; either in consequence of their partiality to particular sciences and opinions, or by an effect of their torpid ignorance, or of their more mischievous and shameful jealousy. I might tell some singular stories of that kind, and give instances of what I have experienced myself in the pursuit of literary enquiries, and even in respect to the two manuscripts now under consideration. But would it cure the impotence or jealousy of these literary eunuchs? *Eraclius* and *Theophilus* seem both of them to have lived in the darkest ages of monkish ignorance, when all-engrossing superstition, and the destructive bravery of northern rusticks, had fully accomplished the ruin of Greece and Rome, and utterly extinguished the light of science, together with the taste and knowledge of the politer arts. Their empiric, unconnected, unprincipled science, their credulity, their barbarous language, and other circumstances, prove it to conviction. But let us speak of each in particular.

As to the work of *Theophilus*, *Henry Corn. Agrippa* was the first, who gave



gave an account of one of its parts, telling us \*, " that one *Theophilus* " had written an excellent work on glafs-making." *Conr. Gefner* repeated the ſame †, without giving any further particulars; but *Simler*, his continuator, deſcribed it better, telling us ‡, " that it contains " three books; the firſt treating of the preparation and mixture of colours, the ſecond of glafs making, and the third of melting and metallurgical operations; that there were two manuſcript copies of it, " one in the poſſeſſion of *George Agricola*, and the other in the library of " the Convent of *Alten-Zell*, ſince transferred to *Leipzig*; and that the " book *Lumen Animæ* quotes the ſame *Theophilus* as having written a " *Tractatus diverſarum artium*."

Theſe two manuſcripts have not been noticed for longer than a hundred years, not even by *Fabricius*: but they are not loſt, one being preſerved in the publick library at *Leipzig*, and the other, it ſeems, at *Wolfenbüttel*, in the library of the Duke of *Brunſwick*.

The copy at *Leipzig* was noticed and deſcribed by *Feller* in 1686 §. *Bayle* took ſome notice of it when he reviewed *Feller's* publication ||; nor did it eſcape the attention of *Morboſ* \*\*. But the fullſt and beſt account of it we have in the *Acta eruditorum Lipſienſia* for Auguſt, 1690, p. 414. Reviewing *Ciampini's vetera monumenta*, and ſpeaking of *Antonio Neri*, whom that author had quoted as the beſt writer on the art of making

\* De vanitate ſcientiarum in fine cap. 96. de alchimifica.

† In Bibl. univerſali. Tig. 1545, p. 614.

‡ *Theophili monachi libri iii.* Primus de temperamentis colorum, ſecundus de ratione vitri, tertius de fuſoria & metallica, exſtant apud *Georgium Agricola* in pergamenis, & in Cella veteri monaſterio, quæ Bibliotheca *Lipſiam* translata eſt. Idem *Theophilus* in tractatu diverſarum artium adducitur in libro qui inſcribitur *Lumen animæ*. Vide *Simleri* appendicem Bibliothecæ *Conr. Gefneri*. Tiguri, 1555, fol. S. 3.

§ In catalogo Bibliothecæ *Paullinæ Lipſienſis* 1686, 12mo. in præſatione.

|| *Nouvelles de la republique des lettres*, Sept. 1686.

\*\* In *Polyhiſtoire*, tom. I. lib. I. c. vii. §. 32.

making glass, they give us the following description: "that it is  
 " amongst the medical manuscripts marked with No. 21, is written on  
 " vellum, and begins thus: Theophilus humilis Presbyter servus ser-  
 " vorum Dei, indignus nomine, & professione monachi, omnibus men-  
 " tis vacationem desiderantibus utili manuum occupatione & delec-  
 " tabili novitatum meditatione declinare — retributionem cœlestis  
 " premii." They add, that it contains three books: I. Of colours  
 and their mixtures, described in thirty-eight chapters. II. Of glass-  
 making, the furnaces and instruments/ belonging thereunto, containing  
 thirty-four chapters. III. Of crucibles and melting pots for melting  
 gold, of gilding and burnishing. (De limis, de vasculis ad liquefa-  
 ciendum aurum, & de nigello imponendo & poliendo) consisting only  
 of seven chapters, the others being cut away in the same manner as the  
 twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of the se-  
 cond book. Mr. *Lessing* had this copy sent to him to Wolfenbuttel, and  
 he is of opinion that the hand-writing is at least of the XIVth century\*,  
 and that the above-mentioned lacunæ account for the neglect, in which  
 the learned at Leipzig seem to have held it ever since the times of Feller.

The copy of Theophilus at Wolfenbuttel has many advantages over  
 that at Leipzig. It is compleat, and has all the characteristick marks  
 which the most scrupulous antiquaries may be used or entitled to expect  
 from a manuscript of the Xth or XIth century. It is probably the same  
 which formerly belonged to Agricola; and it was bought for the Duke's  
 library, with the manuscripts of *Marquard Gudianus*. Although it is not  
 mentioned in his catalogue, yet it belonged to his library, and is bound  
 up in the same volume with a manuscript of Vitruvius, which in the  
 Quarto edition of Gudianus's catalogue is marked No. 249, and in the  
 Octavo edition No. 238 †.

A third copy of the same work seems to be in the King's library at  
 Paris;

\* Vom alter der Oelmahlerey, p. 21. 85.

† Ibid. p. 21. 86.

Paris; at least the authors of the catalogue of manuscripts there preserved, have given us the title of a book of Theophilus, *de omni scientia picturæ artis*\*, which for aught we know, may be a quite different work, or no more than the first book of that we are speaking of.

A fourth copy I had in April 1779 the good luck of finding, and an opportunity of examining in the publick library of the University at Cambridge. It is described in the printed catalogue of that library under No. 437, and is bound up in a Quarto volume marked Ee. 6. 39. which contains, *Palladium de re rustica*, *Macrum de viribus herbarum*; and lastly, our *Theophilus monachus de arte pingendi*. All these manuscripts are on parchment, and Theophilus in particular bears all the characters of a hand-writing of the XIIIth. century.

It begins: Prologus primi libri Theophili monachi & Presbyteri de diversis artibus, imprimis de coloribus. Incipit 1. Liber Theophili monachi de diversis artibus.

The contents will fully appear from the following inscriptions of the chapters.

- I. De temperamento colorum in nudis corporibus.
- II. De colore prasino.
- III. De colore posc.
- IV. De rosa leui.
- V. De lumina prima.
- VI. De colore veneda in oculis ponenda.
- VII. De secundo posc.
- VIII. De rosa secunda.
- IX. De lumina secunda.
- X. De capillis parvorum adolescentum & juvenum.
- XI. De barbis adolescentum.
- XII. De capillis & barbis virorum & senum.
- XIII. De exudra & atris coloribus vultuum.

XIV. De

\* Catal. codic. manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ regiæ. Tom. IV. p. 273. Paris fol. 1744.



- XIV. De mixtura vestimentorum in laqueari.
- XV. De mixtura vestimentorum in muro.
- XVI. De tractatu qui imitatur speciem pluvialis arcus.
- XVII. De tabulis altarium & ostiorum & glutine casei.
- XVIII. De glutine corii & cornuum cervi.
- XIX. De albatura gypsi super corium & lignis.
- XX. De rubricandis ostiis & de oleo lini.
- XXI. De glutine vernition.
- XXII. De fellis equestribus & octoforis.
- XXIII. De petula auri.
- XXIV. De petula stanni.
- XXV. De coloribus oleo & gummi terendis in ligno.
- XXVI. Quociens iidem colores ponendi sunt.
- XXVII. De pictura translucida.
- XXVIII. De molendo auro in libris & de fundendo molendino.
- XXIX. Quomodo aurum & argentum in libris ponatur.
- XXX. Quomodo decoretur pictura librorum stagno & cupro.
- XXXI. De omni genere glutinis in pictura auri.
- XXXII. Quomodo colores in libris temperentur.
- XXXIII. De generibus & temperamento folii.
- XXXIV. De cenobio.
- XXXV. De viridi falso.
- XXXVI. De viridi Hispanico.
- XXXVII. De cerosa & minio.
- XXXVIII. De incausto (Ink.) At the end of this chapter is *Explicit Liber de Coloribus*. But the old copyist has added some other recipes under the following inscriptions.
- De purganda antiqua deatratura.
- De purgando auro & argento.
- Qualiter stagnum solidetur.
- De solidatura ferri.

De

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON: Printed by J. Streater, at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1680.

*Specimen Scripturae Theophili in Bibl.  
Collegii S. Trinitatis Cantabrigiae*

. illic inueniet. q̄q̄ dāsoy coloy q̄nibz  
7 mixturis h̄t ḡcia. q̄q̄ i electoy opolitaze. seu ni-  
gelli uarietate nouo tuloia. q̄q̄ tūbū seu dūbū  
ut irrasili op̄i dūtinguit arabia. q̄q̄ i uasoy dūbū-  
taz. seu gemarū olliū q̄ sculptā. auro decolorat ita-  
na q̄q̄ i fenestris uarietate p̄ciola diliḡ fr̄acia.  
q̄q̄ i auri argenti cup̄ ferri lignoy lapidū q̄ subli-  
mitate tollit laudat ḡmatura. Que



De sculptura ossium.

De rubricando offe.

De temperamento limarum.

Auri solucio.

Aureas litteras scribere.

Auri inscriptio Italica certa.

Auri inscriptio sine auro.

Argenteis literis scribere.

Liquidi argenti confectio.

Argenti inscriptio Italica.

Ad viridem colorem.

Indicum colorem facere.

These last recipes do not seem to belong to the second book of *Theophilus*, but to be supplements of the copyist. However that be, I could have wished to take a copy of this manuscript, but was prevented from so doing; nor would it have been in my power to lay *Theophilus* before the publick, had I not met in December, 1779, with better encouragement, and with a fifth and better manuscript in Trinity-College at Cambridge, where the genius of *Bacon* and of *Sir Isaac Newton*, bred in that noble Seminary of Learning, is still alive and active for the improvement of science in the congenial spirit, liberality and politeness of the numerous and respectably learned members of that society. I publicly, and with heart-felt pleasure, acknowledge the obligations under which I am to every one of them, and in particular to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. *Hinchliffe*, Master of the College, to Dr. *Watson*, Professor of Divinity, to the Rev. Mr. *Green*, Woodwardian Lecturer, and to the Rev. Mr. *George Gritton*; and I desire my readers to look upon this publication of *Theophilus*, as a new instance that light is used to come from Trinity-College, and as a proof that the motto,

*Nebulae*

*Malusque Jupiter urgent,*

G

is

## ON THE DISCOVERY OF OIL PAINTING.

is not applicable over the door of their library. The numerous manuscripts of this beautiful library, are very imperfectly described in the printed *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Angliæ*. Many, and amongst them that of *Theophilus*, are absolutely passed over in silence; a great many others appear under erroneous titles; and none of them are described in a satisfactory manner. A private manuscript catalogue, kept in the closets of the manuscripts, is nearly under the same predicament; for, though it gives a somewhat compleater list of the manuscripts, it does not describe them with greater care, or sufficient critical knowledge. I had access to it, and accidentally hit upon *Theophilus Monachus de omni Scientia artis pingendi*, described as being bound up in the same volume with one *Gratius de artibus Romanorum*. Great was my pleasure, when upon perusing the manuscript I found the latter to be no other than *Eraclius* himself, whom I had been hunting after for years together; and greater still was my satisfaction when I found myself enabled to transcribe them for this Publication.

The volume in which they are bound up, is a small Octavo volume, externally marked R. 15. 15. Besides the two before-mentioned authors, it contains an astronomical work, *de constructione & usu Sphæræ & Astrolabii*, which, in further confirmation of the insufficiency of the catalogue, is not mentioned therein, and seems to have been translated from the Arabick, because the names of the stars and other technical words are Arabick. It is written on lined vellum, in a fair open character of the XIIth century. *Theophilus* and *Eraclius* are likewise on vellum, both written by another hand, in a closer character, and full of abbreviations, such as were used in the XIIIth century, of which an exact specimen from the preface of *Theophilus* is given in the annexed plate, and which I am confident will at once establish the antiquity and the use of this curious manuscript. It relates the contents of the book, said to give full accounts " of the colours and colouring of the *Greeks*; of the various burnished gildings of *Tuscany*; of the cast, milled, or fillagrain " works of the *Arabians*; of the various vases, gems, and gilt-ivory-  
" carvings

"carvings of *Italy*; of the *French* window paintings; and of the various "and sublime gold, silver, copper, iron, wood, and stone-works of *industrious Germany*," which is perhaps said too boastfully; but we ought to make some allowances to an author who reviews his own work, and to the barbarous age in which he lived. We must further observe, that this manuscript contains only the first book of *Theophilus*, to which the copyist has added a variety of curious recipes for other arts, and after them a copy of *Eraclius de Artibus Romanorum*.

The name of *Eraclius*, and the title of his work on *the Arts of the Romans*, are certainly at first sight very striking, and should have long since engaged the attention of antiquaries, had not the singular scarcity of the remaining manuscripts prevented them. *Gesner*, *Simler*, *Montfaucon*, *Fabricius*, and all the other professed Bibliographic Antiquaries, knew nothing of this *Eraclius*; and it is not forty years since some notice might have been taken of his work; for in the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Royal Library at Paris, published in 1744, a copy of *Eraclius de artibus Romanorum*, is mentioned to be bound up in the same volume with *Theophilus, de omni Scientia picturæ artis*\*; and to be written on paper about the beginning of the XVth century. Though the modern date of this copy seems to have lessened the attention and curiosity of the learned antiquaries in France, Mr. *Lessing* judged better of it. Justly aware that the work in itself might be of a higher antiquity and of greater importance than its neglect seemed to imply, he fondly indulged many flattering hopes from the publication of this then unique manuscript†, which will be partly accomplished by this my publication from the better and older manuscript in Trinity-College.

I do not dwell on the advantages which antiquaries, dilettanti, and various artists may reap from this publication of *Eraclius* and *Theophilus*,

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in

\* Cat. Codic. Manuscript. Bibliothecæ Regiæ. Tom. IV. p. 273.

† Vom Alter der Oelmahlerrey.



in order to come to a nearer enquiry who they were, and in what age they lived.

As to *Eraclius*, history has not yet acquainted us with any thing concerning him. Till more particulars can be ascertained, we must content ourselves with those unquestionable conclusions which we are entitled to draw from his work, and the Cambridge manuscript in particular. In its title he is called, *Vir sapientissimus*; which seems to imply that he was no priest or dignitary of the church, and proves beyond exception, that the age in which he lived, and which honoured him with that title, must have been a very barbarous one, for his language is barbarous beyond conception, his credulity is very exceptionable, and his knowledge of things and principles is exceedingly superficial. With all that, he may have been a lay-brother or a monk, for he addresses his work to a friar or brother: and most undoubtedly he was an ignorant quack, because he speaks of his secrets with the boasting consequence of an empyric; and it was credulous ignorance, if not empyric selfishness, which often prevented him from speaking plain language, or from disclosing the secrets he proposed to teach his brother. The name *Heraclius*, or *Eraclius*, is a Greek name, and Greek names became very common in Italy ever since the division of the Roman empire, by which part of Italy remained in the possession of the Greek Emperors: but no fair inference can be drawn from it, either in respect to the age in which he lived, or to the country from which he came; nor does it entitle us to suppose, that our present work *de Artibus Romanorum* is only an imperfect Latin translation of a Greek work; a supposition which would be the less admissible, as he never quotes any but Latin authors.

His particular accounts of some manufactories flourishing at Rome in the most barbarous ages, and especially of the glass-manufactories, seem to imply that he was no native of Rome or Italy, and that he wrote in or for a foreign country, with an intention to fix or to transmit those arts which were extraneous or foreign.

He

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He quotes no later author than Isidorus, who lived in the VIIth century; and we are not perhaps much mistaken to suppose, that he lived and wrote soon after that period. That he must have lived in or before the XIIIth century, appears unquestionably from the Cambridge manuscript.

As to *Theophilus*, all the manuscripts tell us that he was a monk and a priest.

His having been quoted by *Henr. Corn. Agrippa*, the author of that famous and excellent book *de Vanitate Scientiarum*, is certainly of no consequence; for that author died in 1535, full a hundred years after *Van Eyck*.

*Simler* observed\*, that a *Traclatus diversarum Artium* of *Theophilus* is mentioned in an old curious book called *Lumen Animæ*†. This is really the case; but no satisfactory conclusion can be drawn from it, to ascertain the period of *Theophilus*. 1. Because *Matthias Farinator* of Vienna in France, a Carmelite-monk, who compiled the *Lumen Animæ*, or who put it into its present form, under the particular protection of Pope John XXII. lived in the beginning of the XIVth century; accordingly later, than most of the manuscripts of *Theophilus* are written which I have described before. Nor does it, 2. appear, that the *Traclatus diversarum Artium*, mentioned in the *Lumen Animæ*, belongs to our *Theophilus*; for having examined this dull performance, and all the passages of the *Traclatus diversarum Artium* which are contained therein, I am fully satisfied that none of them are taken from that work of *Theophilus* which we are speaking of here, and that the book from which they are taken being different, its author might be so likewise.

*Theophilus*:

\* In Appendice Bibl. Conr. Gesneri. Tig. 1555, fol. S. 3.

† For a full review of which, I refer the Reader to the Appendix of this Publication, in which, amongst other literary anecdotes, I have given a copy of all the fragments of *Theophilus's Traclatus diversarum Artium*.

*Theophilus* has not dropt any thing himself, which might determine either the age or the country in which he lived : we are reduced therefore to conclude from the external appearance of his remaining manuscripts, and especially from those of the oldest at Wolfenbittel, that he must have lived in or about the Xth century ; and indeed so far from containing any thing to make that antiquity of the manuscript or the author doubtful, the work itself and its stile absolutely imply a friar of those times, when monks still delighted in useful industry, and understood, or endeavoured to understand and to make with their own hands, what the rearing and ornamenting of their churches and habitations seemed to require.

As to the country, in which *Theophilus* lived, or from which he came, Mr. *Lessing* pretends to have found unequivocal proofs of his having been a German\* ; and it must be owned there is some Teutonick idiom in the turn of his phrases, and in particular in some words which he has made use of. But as the barbarous Latin of those days, was almost every where and in every country infected with the Teutonick or northern idioms, I would not depend absolutely upon that argument alone, nor do I suppose Mr. *Lessing* did.

Mr. *Lessing* is farther of opinion, that our *Theophilus Presbyter*, and that celebrated *Tutilo* of S. Gall, are one and the same person. He lived in the IXth century, and is reported to have been an universal artist † ; and *Tutilo* and *Theophilus* are undoubtedly the same names, *Tutilo* being one of the German names for the Greek or Latin *Theophilus* ‡.

But let us not dwell on these conjectures ; the question is not whether an obscure author, a *Tutilo*, or a *Theophilus*, a German or another countryman

\* Loc. cit. p. 22.

† See the historians of S. Gall, in Goldasti Scriptoribus rerum Alemann. Tom. I. and Histoire Litteraire de la France, par les Benedictins de S. Maur.

‡ Catalogus nominum priorum quibus Alemanni quondam appellati sunt—in Goldasti Script. Rer. Alemannicarum, Tom. II.



countryman of the IXth or Xth century, makes any mention of oil-painting; but that it has been mentioned in a manuscript which is absolutely to be ascribed to the XIth century, and which speaks of it in so explicit a manner as even to teach how the oils and the colours must be prepared. The very argument of the XVIIIth chapter of the Wolfenbützel manuscript, or of the XXth of that at Cambridge implies it, and what Theophilus says in it will prove it at once. I shall insert it therefore at large.

Chap. XVIII. (or XX.) How doors are to be painted in red, and of linseed-oil\*.

“ If you want to redden your doors, you may do it with linseed-oil,  
 “ which is to be prepared in this manner. Take linseed and dry it  
 “ over a fire without any water. Then put it into a mortar and pound  
 “ it into a fine powder, which must be heated afterwards with some  
 “ water. Wrap it up in a piece of new cloth, and put it under a press  
 “ for making olive-nut or poppy-oil. With the oil thus pressed from  
 “ the linseed, you mix and grind your red lead or your cinnabar without  
 “ adding any water to it; and then you may apply it on the doors.  
 “ or

\* *Cap. XVIII. (XX.) De rubicandis ostiis & oleo lini.* Si autem volueris ostia rubricare, tolle oleum lini, quod hoc modo compones. Accipe Semen lini & exsicca illud in Sartagine super ignem sine aqua. Deinde mitte in mortarium & contunde illud pila, donec tenuissimus fiat pulvis, rursusque mittens illud in sartagine & infundens modicum aquæ sic calefacies illud fortiter. Postea involve illud in pannum novum & pone in pressatorium, in quo solet oleum olivæ vel nucum vel papaveris exprimi ut eodem modo etiam istud exprimatur. Cum hoc oleo tere minium sive cenobrium super lapidem sine aqua & cum pincello linies super ostia vel tabulas, quas rubricare volueris & ad solem exsiccabis. Deinde iterum linies & rursus ficcabis.

“ or boards which you intended to redden. Let them dry at the sun ;  
 “ paint them over a second time, and dry them in the same manner.”

*Eraclius* teaches nearly the same ; for in his chapter *How wood and boards are to be prepared and grounded for painting*, he says, “ after having  
 “ covered and evened it well with wax, white lead and brickduft, take  
 “ white lead, grind it very carefully with oil, and apply a thin layer of  
 “ it wherever a painting is intended. An afs’s-brush made for the  
 “ purpose, will be very useful for laying it on thinly. Then let it dry  
 “ well in the sun. When dry, apply another and thicker layer in the  
 “ same manner, yet not too thick. Take care likewise that there be  
 “ not too much oil in the mixture ; for in either case the surface becomes  
 “ wrinkled \*.”

The same kind of oil-ground he recommends in the following chapter, inscribed, *How columns are to be prepared for painting*, to which, for brevity’s sake, I refer the reader.

But one might say perhaps daubing, colouring, and grounding is no better than house or sign-post painting ; and though we must grant, that in the times of *Theophilus* and *Eraclius* they knew how to prepare, to use, and to dry some oil-colours, and how to mix some coarser colours with linseed-oil for the purpose of painting and grounding doors, boards, and other wooden furniture, must we grant likewise that they understood how to prepare the finer colours ? and how to use them in the nobler kinds of painting ?

Very

\* *Quomodo aptetur lignum antequam pingatur.* Et sicut dixi iam equali facto habundantius plumbum valde subtilissime tritum cum oleo desuper per totum ubicunque pingere vis tenuissime extendendo cum pincello afinino sic aptato. Deinde ad solem exiccari bene permitte. At cum siccatus fuerit color, iterum superpone sicut prius fecisti de eodem & spiffiorem pones. Sed non ita spiffiorem ut abundantio rem colorem superponas sed ut oleum minus habeat. Nam & in hoc multum cavendum est ut nunquam crassio rem colorem superponas, quod si feceris & abunde posueris cum exiccari coeperit rugæ desuper erunt.

Very well; if this should be seriously meant as an objection in favour of *Vasari's* story, it must fall to the ground by the following passages of *Theophilus* and of *Eraclius*.

*Theophilus* says in his Chap. XXIII. (Cant. XXV.) *How to grind colours with oil or gum* \*.

" Every kind of colours may be ground and prepared with the same kind of oil, and then applied on wood, but on such things and works only as may be dried by the sun; for no colours can be laid on another till the first be dry, which is rather tedious and troublesome in figure painting. But if you are in haste with your works, take the gum of cherry or plumb-trees; cut it into small pieces, put it with abundance of water into a pot, and let it soak and digest in the sun, or over a gentle coal fire, till it be quite dissolved, which will be forwarded by stirring and pounding it with a round piece of wood. Strain it afterwards through a cloth, and then grind and apply the colours with it. Every colour and mixture of colours may be prepared with the same kind of gum, except red and white lead and carmine, which are to be ground and prepared with the clarified white of eggs."

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*Eraclius*

\* Cap. XXIII. (Cant. XXV.) *De coloribus oleo & gummi terendis.*

Omnia genera colorum eodem genere olei teri & poni possunt in opere ligneo, in his tantum rebus, quæ sole siccare possunt; quia quotiescunque unum colorem imposueris, alterum ei superponere non potes nisi prior exsiccet, quod in imaginibus diuturnum & taediosum nimis est. Si autem volueris opus tuum festinare, sume gummi, quod exit de arbore ceraso sive pruno & concidens illud minutatim, pone in vas fictile & aquam abundanter infunde & pone ad solem sive super carbones in hieme donec gummi liquefiat & ligno rotundo diligenter contunde. Deinde cola per pannum & inde tere colores & impone. Omnes colores & mixturæ eorum hoc gummi teri & poni possunt præter minium & cerosam & carmin, qui cum claro ovi terendi & ponendi sunt.



*Eraclius* speaks nearly to the same purpose in his chapter, "*How columns are to be prepared for painting*," saying, "after having ground, polished, and dried them well, you may paint upon them with every kind of oil-colours."

Here is oil-painting in its utmost extent and latitude. *Every kind of colours may be ground and prepared, and applied with the same kind of oil.* The painting with oil and with distemper-colours was equally known, though the artists did not use the former but on *such things and works of wood as might be dried by the sun*, because they did not know of any method of finishing in oil-colours as expeditiously as in water-colours. The oil dried too slowly, before they could lay another colour over it, *which was rather tedious and troublesome in figure-painting.* We encounter the same difficulties in oil-painting; and if they should have prevailed on the ancients to use it less than we do at present, are we entitled by it to deny them the very knowledge of the practice so accurately described by *Theophilus*? Have we any right to suppose that oil-painting, for having been seldom used in figure-painting, was forgotten since the times of *Theophilus*, till *John Van Eyck* invented it again? It is impossible it should have been forgotten; and well-authenticated facts and pictures still extant prove it was not.

It is impossible, or at least improbable to the highest degree, that oil-painting should have been forgotten since the times of *Theophilus*; for two reasons. The first, because the painting on boards in oil was obviously better than any other; and because they had formerly a kind of painting which could not be executed without oil.

*Theophilus* describes it in his Chap. XXV. (XXVII.) *Of transparent paintings*.\*

"There is likewise," he says, "a kind of transparent painting on wood, which

\* Cap. XXV. (Cant. XXVII.) *De pictura translucida.*  
Fit etiam pictura in ligno, quæ dicitur translucida & apud quosdam vocatur *Aureola*,  
quam

“ which by some is called *Aureola*, and is done in this manner. Take a  
 “ leaf of tinfoil not glazed or covered with glue or saffron, but clean and  
 “ well polished. Put it on the place which is to be painted transparent;  
 “ then grind your colours carefully with linseed-oil, and lay them very  
 “ thin on the foil-ground, whereafter you let them dry.” For aught we  
 know, whole pictures may have been executed in that manner; but even  
 upon a supposition that this *Aureola* had been calculated only and used  
 for executing the glories of the numerous Saints, the air, the water, or  
 some parts of draperies, it appears from the nature of this practice, that  
 the tinfoil, which was the ground of the transparency, does not receive  
 any colours so well as oil-colours, and consequently that the finishing of  
 some of their distemper-pictures must have reminded the old artists of  
 oil-painting as described by *Theophilus*.

But there was no occasion for reminding them of it occasionally. Its  
 advantages were too striking; and *records* and *pictures* still remaining  
 prove it unquestionably, and must have proved it before, had not the  
 unsupported authority of *Vasari's* and *Van Mander's* accounts prevailed  
 in favour of the *Van Eycks*, and misled the opinion of those who might  
 have known better.

One of the strongest arguments in favour of oil-paintings having  
 been known and practised in England after the period of *Theophilus*,  
 and long before that of *Van Eyck's*, is to be drawn from an order of King  
 Henry III. to his Treasurer and Chamberlains, which Mr. *Horace Walpole*  
 has communicated to the world\*. It is dated in the XXIII<sup>d</sup> year of  
 that King's reign, which is the 1239<sup>th</sup> of our æra; and orders the

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“ Treasurer

quam hoc modo compones. Tolle petulam stanni non linitam glutine nec colora-  
 tam croco sed ita simplicem & diligenter politam, & inde cooperies locum, quem ita  
 pingere volueris. Deinde tere colores imponendos diligentissime oleo lini ac valde  
 tenues trahe eos cum pincello, sicque permitte ficcari.

\* Anecdotes of Painting in England, Strawberry Hill, 1762, Vol. I. p. 6.

"Treasurer and his Chamberlains to pay from his treasury to *Odo the Goldsmith*, and his son *Edward*, one hundred and seventeen shillings and ten pence, for oil, varnish, and colours, and the paintings of the chamber in his royal residence at Westminster, done in the XXIII<sup>d</sup> of his reign, from Whitsunday to S. Barnabas the Apostle, during fifteen days\*."

Here are oil, varnish, and colours, provided for painting the apartments of the King; nor can it be fairly urged that the oil was provided only for making oil-varnish to be laid on water-colours, because *Theophilus* has too plainly told us, that every kind of colour may be ground and prepared for painting on wood and wainscoting, which seems to have been the case at Westminster; for it is not very likely that *Odo the Goldsmith*, and his son *Edward*, should have been possessed of the skill and expeditious *furia* of *Tintoret* or *Luca Giordano*, called *Fa Presto*, and have finished in a fortnight the painting of a royal apartment with figures or histories, such as might have been expected from those masters, or such as the same King appears to have ordered to several other painters belonging to his household, or to the Masters of his Board of Works in other royal residences†.

I take this opportunity occasionally to observe, that the History of the Royal Household, of the Board of the King's Works, of the English painters, sculptors, architects, and other artists, may be traced

\* Rex Thes: & camerariis suis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Odom aurifabro & Edwardo filio suo centum & septemdecim solidos & decem denarios pro oleo, vernice, & coloribus emptis & picturis factis in Camera regie nostre apud Westm. ab octavis Sancte Trinitatis anno regni nostre XXIII: usque ad festum Sancti Barnabe Apostoli eodem anno scilicet per XV. dies.

† See Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. I. p. 2—16. It is remarkable that the Masters of the Board of Works are called in these orders *Custodes operationum*, and not to be wondered that some painters should have been Monks and Italians at this period of time.



traced backward far beyond the times of King Henry III. nay even beyond the period of the Norman Conquest in the XIth century; and that there is no occasion for looking upon the first painters and other such artists as foreigners to this kingdom. I speak it from my own knowledge; for having perused and closely studied some parts of the Doomsday Book, I have been satisfied that this inestimable treasure of English history and antiquity contains an almost inexhaustible stock of excellent materials, not only for the lawyer and landholder, but likewise for the historian, the philosopher, and the dilettante—materials yet in a chaotick undigested state;

*Unde prius nulli velarunt tempora*

*Muse.*

I do not dwell here on the extensive and various uses which must and will arise from a most desirable, accurate, careful, and learned edition of this noblest monument of the Norman Conquest; nor on the best method for digesting its materials into indices and tabellary abstracts; but I hope my fondness and warmth for literary discoveries, whatever they are, will be indulged so far as to allow me to observe, that at the end of the description of the lands, which the greater tenants or vassals held from the crown in each county, there is likewise an accurate description of the *Terra Tainorum vel Ministrorum Regis*, that is to say, of the Lands, which the King's Household Servants held from the King, for the services they were employed in. It is amongst these *Tainos* and *Teignios*, or free servants\*, that we must look about us chiefly for supplements to the history

\* The word *Tainus*, *Teignius*, *Thanus*, for it appears written in these different manners, is visibly derived from the Old Saxon, or rather it is Saxon. In Low-German or the Saxon, which is spoken in all the northern parts of Germany, from whence the Saxons came, and which is still called Low Saxony, *Deiner* signifies a free servant that serves for wages, and comes from *Deinen* to serve. In the Misnian dialect of Upper Saxony or High German, they are called *Diener*s from *Dienen*.

history of the politer arts in England, and that we are sure to meet with the names and employments of all those ministers of luxury, splendour, and convenience of the royal courts of the last Anglo-Saxon and the first Norman kings.

As to the oil-pictures done before the period of the *Van Eycks*, I shall begin with those, which are preserved in England, and are mentioned or acknowledged to be done in oil at such an early period, with as good and better authority than many old pictures on boards have been looked upon as oil-paintings of *John Van Eyck*.

One of the most celebrated is undoubtedly that famous historical portrait of King Richard II. in the Earl of Pembroke's noble collection of pictures at Wilton. It has been so often described ever since the days of *Wenceslaus Hollar*, who etched it in the times of King Charles I. \* that referring my readers to those descriptions †, I shall confine myself only to a few remarks. I saw it at Wilton in May, 1779, and examined it as closely as the glass covering would permit me to do. It is painted on two boards, about eighteen inches high, joined together; and though it is in high preservation, yet the above-mentioned white chalk-ground appears in some places from under the bright golden ground which has been laid over it, and on which the colours of the figures have been applied. The colours are exceedingly fresh; nor is that to be wondered at, when we consider, that the colouring and the oil-paintings of many old masters of the Lombard and Venetian school have stood as unimpaired by ages, because they used the same white chalk-ground and all that care, which many other modern oil-painters have

\* G. Vertue's Description of the Works of *Wenceslaus Hollar*. London, 1759, amongst the religious Subjects No. 72.

† In *Gambarini's*, *Cowdry's*, and *Kennedy's Accounts of the Curiosities at Wilton*; and in the new Description of the Antiquities and Curiosities at Wilton. *Salisbury*, VIIth Edit. especially in *Mr. Walpole's Anecdotes*, Vol. I. p. 23.

have too often neglected to their cost. Their gloss and shining surface bespeaks them either to have been varnished, or to have been mixed, prepared, and applied with oil or oil-varnish. Had they been mixed and applied with size or gum and varnished afterwards, the consequence must have been and constantly will be what painters and varnishers have experienced a thousand times, that many of the colours would have blackened; the white would have turned yellow, and the blue greenish; for the varnishes are of a yellowish if not brownish colour and of an oily nature, and will soak into the substance of the water-colours and saturate them, according to their different natures, some of them being of the vegetal and some others of the mineral kingdom, and accordingly requiring a more or less quantity of oil or varnish for their full saturation. The case is quite different in oil-paintings; for the oil mixed and embodied with the colours, will, when hardened or dried, prevent the varnish from soaking into them and from changing their original freshness, brightness, and harmony. It will give them an equal lustre every where; and, making an even glossy skin over them, not only heighten but likewise preserve them against the various effects of wet and air. By all appearances then this picture seems to have been painted in oil or oil-varnish; and as King Richard II. who came to the crown in 1377, was forced to resign it, and died in 1399, is represented on this picture with a juvenile aspect in a kind of devotion to the Virgin Mary and the Saviour, which seems rather to imply an act of solemn inauguration or coronation, it seems to have been executed and done before the period of *Van Eyck's* pretended discovery of painting in oil or in oil-varnish. Thus ocular inspection and reasoning alone will bring us to this conclusion, and warrant the inscriptions on the two little gilt brass plates, which are screwed and affixed to it on the bottom, and tell us, perhaps too positively, that it was painted in the beginning of 1377, before the invention of painting in oil in 1410. I do not know nor much care, whether there are any other positive proofs of the authenticity



ticity and the epocha of this picture. What I know is, that none of the authors that have described it, have given us any thing more satisfactory about its antiquity; but it is to the purpose and but common justice to observe, that they have left us no doubt about its representing King Richard II. and his patron Saints S. John, King Edmund, and King Edward the Confessor.

The whole length portrait of the same King in Westminster Abbey at London, may be a good likeness, nay have been originally painted in oil; but being repainted in modern times according to Mr. Walpole's account\*, no conclusion can be fairly drawn from it.

King Henry IVth's original oil-portrait at Hampton-Court †, must have been executed independently of *John and Hubert Van Eycks* pretended first discovery of oil-painting in 1410, for that King died in 1412; and by *Vasari's* and *Van Mander's* own account, the *Van Eycks* kept their discovery a secret during many years.

Besides these oil-pictures on boards, there are a great many others in the cathedrals, old halls, and collections of the dilettanti, which upon nearer enquiry would perhaps appear to have been executed in oil, and before the date of the *Van Eycks*. I have noticed several of that kind and of other old masters, during a tour through the-kingdom; but for want of leisure and acquaintance with the possessors, could not indulge my inquisitiveness as far as I might have desired. A very good and curious oil-painting on boards, representing the wedding feast at Cana, and probably and to all appearances done by *John Mabuse* (who lived in the reign of Henry) had escaped the notice of *Vertue*, and even of Mr. *Horace Walpole*. It is marked with the golden initials L. M. I found it at Mrs. *Gordon's* elegant seat at Rochester, and it promises that other discoveries of the same kind will reward the trouble and attention of those, who go on discovery with Mr. *Walpole's* or Mr. *Pennant's* spirit and ingenuity.

I have

\* Walpole's Anecdotes, Vol. I. p. 23.

† Ibid. Vol. I.

I have observed already that *Aubertus Miraeus* seems to have been the first who looked on the accounts of *John* and *Hubert Van Eycks* discovery, as very exceptionable. He says in his *Chronicon Belgicum*, under the year 1410, " *John Van Eyck* and his brother *Hubert*, two excellent painters, flourished at Bruges. It is a common belief that *John* was the first, who, mixing the colours with linseed-oil, ensured eternity to them as it were against the injuries of time. This noble invention is generally ascribed to the year 1410; but some painters have certainly used it, in the Netherlands at least, before the year 1400, as plainly appears from some old oil-paintings, especially from one in the Church of the Franciscan Friars at Louvain, the painter of which is proved by record to have died in 1400\*." This flatly contradicts *Van Mander's* æra of the invention; and might have overturned *Vasari's* story, had it not been so acceptable and flattering to the Dutch and Flemish. As to the oil-pictures at Louvain, they seem to have been lost or destroyed since the time of *Miraeus*; for Mr. *Turberville Needham*, Director of the Imperial and Royal Academy at Brussels, has, on my particular request, taken some pains about them, and communicated to me a letter of Mr. Stapleton, dated Louvain, 1777, from which it appears that there is nothing like those oil-paintings either in the Franciscan or in other Churches of that famous University. But no inference can be drawn from that circumstance against the veracity of *Miraeus*; as the improved art of modern painters has too often proved destructive to the stiff, dry, and Gothick

## I

works

\* Joannes Eyckius & frater eius Hubertus, pictores eximii Brugis florent. Horum alter Joannes oleo ex lini seminibus extuso picturæ colores primus miscuisse atque æternos, ut sic dicam, adversus ævi injuriam reddidisse creditur. Præclarum hoc inventum plerique ad an. 1410. referunt; sed ante annum 1400. illud in Belgis, saltem apud pictores quosdam, in usu fuisse convincunt vetustiores tabellæ coloribus oleo mixtis depictæ, atque in his una quæ in templo Franciscanorum Lovanii spectatur, cuius quidem auctor sive pictor an. 1400. notatur obiisse.

works of their predecessors, or sent them to the lumber-room; in the same manner as thousands of manuscripts and of the oldest printed books have been destroyed or neglected since the art of printing was invented, or brought to a higher degree of perfection.

This seems to have been in particular the case of the old Gothick oil-paintings on board in Italy, because the politer arts were sooner brought to perfection in that beautiful country than in any other. All the various schools of painting, and an uninterrupted series of eminent modern masters have been employed for these last three hundred years, nay longer, to paint almost every altar-piece, cieling, hall, or gallery in a better taste than could be expected before the revival of the arts, and from the Gothick ignorance, which preceded it during so many barbarous ages. Many valuable historical monuments of those times must of course have fallen a sacrifice to the revived better taste of the old Romans and Grecians, and to the ingenuity of better modern artists; and why should those old Gothick boards have met with a milder fate, than many of the better works of the first and most eminent masters of the Roman, Florentine, and Venetian schools, which have been destroyed to make room for modern masters, that were to be employed? Yet they have not been entirely destroyed; and whatever havock modern taste and ingenuity may have made in Italy amongst the monuments of the monkish Gothick ages, some are remaining to prove, that oil-painting was likewise known and practised in Italy before the times of *Vasari's* Flemish Worthy.

*Malvasia*, in his *Felsina Pittrice*, or his account of the Bolognese painters\*, gives us a circumstantial account of many oil-paintings of *Lippo Dalmasio* and other masters, done before *John Van Eyck*. They were still extant in the days of *Malvasia*, who published his work in 1678, and many of them wore the date of the year in which they had been finished.

One

\* Tom. I. p. 27.



One of the year 1376, was by no means favourable to *Vasari's* stories; and when *Vasari* gave, as it were unwillingly, an imperfect account of a Madonna of *Lippo Dalmasio* or *Dalmarsi*, which in his days was carefully preserved at *S. Petronio* at Bologna, and appeared to have been painted in 1407 \*, it is but a further instance of his singular and partial pre-conception in favour of *Van Eyck*. *Count Malvasia* has treated him very severely on that account, and very justly too; but if the Count himself should appear to have drawn too rash consequences from these old oil-paintings of *Lippo* in favour of his country, it can only have been in consequence of that inconsiderate national pride which has prompted the Italians in particular to be so exceedingly jealous of inventions and improvements in the politer arts. I shall presently give some curious instances of it, and here finish my account of the old oil-paintings, done before the period of *John Van Eyck*. It might be swelled and spun out to a greater length, and nevertheless prove no more, than what is proved already by the manuscripts of *Theophilus*, viz. that oil-painting was known and practised in many parts of Europe at least ever since the XIth century, or long before the times of the *Van Eycks*; that *Vasari's* and *Van Mander's* accounts of their discovery are false; and that accordingly many old paintings and portraits in oil, representing things and persons, which happened or who lived before the *Van Eycks*, are no more to be looked upon as false and fictitious merely because they are painted in oil, but may be considered henceforth as authentic and genuine coeval monuments of preceding ages, which is certainly a matter of some consequence for the critick and the antiquarian.

Where and when oil-painting was discovered, remains in the dark, and is a question which I must leave to the discussion of the different modern nations, which have laid claim to the invention. Their argu-

\* See *Vasari's Vite de Pittori* Ediz. di Bologna del 1645. Parte I. p. 140—142, at the End of the Life of *Lippo Pittore Fiorentino*.

ments are still unsatisfactory; time however and future discoveries and enquiries may perhaps ripen them hereafter.

I have hinted already and it is easily accounted for, that oil-paintings, which appear to have been done before the days of *Van Eyck*, and are still or were formerly preserved in different countries, do not and cannot justify their respective claims to the invention. Yet many modern pretenders have no better vouchers to give, or no better foundation to build their pretences upon. This is in particular the case of the *Bolognese* and of the *English*, or rather of Count *Malvasia*, whom I have been speaking of just before, and of some patriots, who being very warm for the honour of this kingdom, seem to be as well disposed to lay hold of the before-mentioned old English oil-paintings, and to draw from them consequences, which may be flattering to uninformed and illiterate national vanity, but never will appear conclusive to the moderate and learned connoisseur. When Mr. *Horace Walpole* first mentioned them\*, he seemed to be still convinced of the validity of *John Van Eyck's* pretensions; and accordingly he drew no other inferences from those pictures but such as might support *Vasari's* accounts, hinting, "that *Van Eyck* might have heard perhaps of the old paintings in England and learnt the secret here, which he supposed to have been unknown to the Italians, and which made afterwards so great a fortune abroad." But all that "he gave as mere conjecture, unsupported by any writers on the art of painting, and very far from setting up any novel pretensions for the honour of his own country. Where the discovery was made, he did not pretend to guess; the fact seemed to him to be, that there was such a practice in England; that curious facts were all he aimed at relating, never attempting to establish an hypothesis, which of all kind of visions can nourish itself the most easily without any." These are his own words, and the words of a cautious moderate critick and antiquary;

\* Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. I.

tiſquary; yet they have been miſtaken and miſrepreſented, as implying that the art of painting in oil was diſcovered in England, and that he countenanced ſuch an opinion \*. Mr. *Walpole* certainly did not; for he gave it only as a conjecture, that poſſibly *it might* have been invented here, becauſe it is fact that *it was* known and uſed here before the *Van Eycks*. As it has been uſed and known from the manuſcripts of *Theophilus* in other countries beſides England, it may have been invented in any one of them, ſed a poſſe ad eſſe non valet conſequentia.

The *Sicilians* ſeem to eſtabliſh their claims to the invention on the tombſtone of *Antonello di Meſſina*, which *Vaſari* has given us in the life of that artiſt †. It is as follows:.

## D. O. M.

Antonius Pictor, præcipuum Meſſanæ ſuæ & Siciliæ totius ornamen-  
tum, hac humo contegitur. Non ſolum ſuis picturis in quibus ſin-  
gulare artificium & venuſtas fuit, ſed & quod coloribus oleo miſ-  
cendis ſplendorem & perpetuitatem primus Italicæ picturæ contulit  
ſummo ſemper artificum ſtudio celebratus.

That is: “Anthony the Painter, the chief ornament of his Meſſina and  
“ of Sicily, lies buried in this ground. The artiſts have ever held him  
“ in the higheſt eſteem for his artful and pleaſing pictures, and becauſe  
“ he was the firſt, who by mixing the colours with oil, gave luſtre and  
“ perpetuity to the paintings of Italy.” *Vaſari* does not tell us, whether  
this inſcription is found at Venice, where *Antonella* died, nor does he aſ-  
certain the period when that happened; but he gives us an account of  
*Antonello's* going to Flanders, in order to learn the new invented ſecret  
from *John Van Eyck*, which is exceedingly doubtful, and ſeems to prove  
no more than that *Vaſari* was not very nice in the means of ſupporting  
the

\* See a Letter to the Printer of the Morning Chronicle, ſigned I. M. and  
printed Thursday, Nov. 25, 1779.

† *Vaſari* Parte ſeconda delle Vite de' Pittori, p. 284.



the honour and character of *Van Eyck's* invention. *Malvasia*, in his *Felsina Pittrice*, Tom. I. p. 28, is on that account very severe upon him. But however that be, whether *Antonello* went to Flanders and learnt oil-painting there, or whether he invented some improvements of painting and colouring in oil, without ever stirring out of Italy, the inscription of his tombstone does not imply any such peregrination of his to Flanders, and is in itself of little authority, as it is visibly drawn up long after the period of *Antonello*, and cannot be considered as an authentick coeval monument of his discovery. Moreover, he seems to have lived at the beginning of the XVth century in the times of *Van Eyck*, that is, many ages after *Theophilus* had already given a full and circumstantial description of the art he is said to have first invented and introduced in Italy. If therefore the authors who have in particular treated of the matter, that is to say *Auria*, in his *Sicilia inventrice*, and *Mongitore* in his supplements to that work, have given no better arguments for the Sicilians, their pretension to the invention is but a very weak and inconsiderable one, and may at most be troublesome to the partizans of *Van Eyck*, without proving any thing against the ancients *Theophilus*.

The pretensions of the Neapolitans are professedly exposed by *Tafari* in his second letter, *intorno alcune Invenzioni uscite del Regno di Napoli*, which is inserted in the sixth Volume of the *Raccolta d'Opuscoli Scientifici e filologici* of the year 1732. He has chiefly urged the arguments and reasonings of *Carlo Celano*, who was the first that stood forth in behalf of the Neapolitan artists, and pleaded their cause in his *Bello e Curioso di Napoli*, which was printed in the year 1692. The arguments and the pretensions of those authors and the Neapolitans amount shortly to this\*: that  
 “ there

\* Vi si vede in una Capella a Amalfi una picciola Tavola nella quale sta dipinto S. Girolamo in atto di studiare: opera veramente ammirabile di Col' Antonio di Fiori Napoletano, che fù il primo a dipingere ad oglio nell' anno 1436; contra quello che

“ there is in a chapel at *Amalfi* a small picture representing S. Jerome, “ done by *Col' Antonio di Fieri*, a Neapolitan master, who was the first “ that painted in oil in the year 1436; although *Vasari* relates, that “ upon King Alfonso I. of Naples, having received an oil-painting of “ John Van Bruges, a Flemish master, *Antonello di Messina* had greatly “ admired this new kind of painting, and gone to Flanders in order to “ learn the secret. That *Col' Antonio* painted in oil in 1436; that King “ *Alfonso* took Naples, July 2, 1433, and that it is by no means proba- “ ble he should have received *Van Eyck's* oil picture just at that period; “ that to all appearances he might have received it somewhat later; that “ *Antonello* must likewise have spent some time in going and coming; “ and that accordingly *Col' Antonio* may be supposed to have painted in “ oil ten years before.” This is very weak reasoning indeed, and very little to the purpose; for *Col' Antonio* may have painted in oil about the year 1436, nay much sooner, without being indebted for the science either to *Van Eyck* or to *Antonello*. At best it proves only that *Vasari's* stories are very little to be depended upon, and that there is or was at *Amalfi* an oil-painting of *Col' Antonio* done in the year 1436; which does neither establish the pretensions of the Neapolitans, nor advance our knowledge of the invention of oil-painting any single step farther, than what we knew already from other enquiries, and chiefly from *Theophilus*, that is to say,

1. That

che si scrive dal *Vasari*, che dice, che fu mandato un Quadro ad Alfonso Primo Re di Napoli da Gio. da Bruggia Fiamingo dipinto ad oglio e che Antonello da Messina ammiratosi di questo nuovo modo di dipingere, desideroso di sapere il segreto si porto in Fiandra—or si concordino i tempi. *Col' Antonio* nell' anno 1436, dipingeva ad oglio, *Alfonso* alli 2. di Luglio dell' anno 1433, prese Napoli per l'Aqueduttò ed è da supponersi, che non in questo tempo gli fosse presentato il Quadro del Bruggia, ma in qualche tempo dopo presa Napoli ed Antonello nell' andare e tornare vi pose anche tempo; talchè chiaramente si raccogliè per quel che dice *Vasari*, che più di dieci annò prima *Col' Antonio* dipingeva ad oglio. *Celano Bello e Curioso di Napoli.*

1. That the first origin and the first inventor of oil-painting is still absolutely unknown.
2. That the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans have certainly been within sight and within reach of the discovery, because they had tried many experiments with oil, and were acquainted with the preparation and use of oil-varnish.
3. That *Theophilus Presbyter* in the Xth or XIth century, has given us a full and sufficient unquestionable account of the preparation and use of oil-colours for painting on boards and on wood.
4. That there are many old Gothick oil-paintings on board, remaining in different parts of Europe, proved to have been done before the times of *John* and *Hubert Van Eyck*.
5. That these two Flemish artists, however skilful in their art, have no claim to the first invention of oil-painting.
6. That *Vasari's* accounts of their discovery are false. And lastly,
7. That the literary world has been misled by them for these last two hundred years, and has without examining adopted their legends, looking upon all old oil-paintings on boards as being absolutely done after the times of the *Van Eycks*, or as being objects of greater curiosity than they really are.

I might finish here. But as old established opinions, reputations and characters, that have stood unblemished for ages together, are generally established on some good foundation, it seems to be my duty once more to return to the *Van Eycks*, and to *Vasari* their panegyrist and historian.

As to the *Van Eycks* then, their character and celebrity as eminent skilful painters is absolutely independant of *Vasari's* or any other scribes praises. Their unquestionable works are the only and best vouchers of their excellence. Some of them are remaining; and if the consecration of S. Thomas Becket, formerly in the Duke of Devonshire's, but now in the Earl of Besborough's noble collection of paintings at Roehampton near London, be really proved to have been painted by

*John*



*John Van Eyck* in the year 1422, as a great connoisseur has told us\*, it must be allowed that this master was a man of uncommon abilities for the age and the country he lived in. It is painted in oil, if not in varnish. The colours, which are applied on a white chalk-ground on boards, are as fresh and as clear as if they had been laid on but yesterday. The pencil is exceedingly delicate, and the whole is finished with that care, which would do credit to the best masters of the Dutch or Flemish school. There is an uncommon degree of truth and nature in the perspective of the architectural parts of the Cathedral of Canterbury, where Thomas Becket's remains were deposited, in the draperies and folds, and especially in the heads, which seem to be well drawn portraits from the life; and if there is any thing in it, which betrays the Gothick stile, as certainly there is, in the want of Chiaroscuro, aerial perspective, degradation of colours and spirit, or in a certain stiffness in the draperies and dryness of the figures, it must be allowed to be less than in several other pictures, which are ascribed to him, and no more than what will appear even in the very best works of *Holbein* and *Albert Durer*. I have examined and admired this picture as often as I have had an opportunity of seeing it; and I am of opinion that, if it should be the work of an old English master, which perhaps might be the case, as it represents a national scene drawn with so much nature and truth, it does the greatest honour to him and to the age in which it was executed; and that on the contrary, if it should be fairly proved to be *Van Eyck's*, which indeed is yet not very plain to me, it is to be looked upon as one of the best monuments of his art and ingenuity. However that be, I am very willing to allow and to agree with Mr. *Lessing* †, that *John Van Eyck* and his brother *Hubert* may have remarkably improved that art, which they did not invent, and which *Theophilus* knew and described so many ages before them.

K

them.

\* Walpole's Anecdotes, Vol. I.

† Vom Alter der Oelmahlerey.

them. The very accounts of Theophilus seem to entitle us to temper justice with this allowance from equity.

The oil colours, which Theophilus describes in his XXIII<sup>d</sup> or XXV<sup>th</sup> Chapter, dried very slowly, and their use was on that account tedious and troublesome. Moreover, other passages of Theophilus prove, that in his times they used only linseed-oil, at least he does not mention any other kind, as fit for painting. But linseed-oil is in itself the dirtiest, and dries so slowly, that now a days it is hardly made use of at all, except in the coarsest house and wood painting. Why might not *John Van Eyck* have first introduced the use of the clearer and better drying nut or poppy-oils? Might not he be supposed to have found some additional mixture, to make the oils dry sooner? for example that of vitriol, spick-oil, varnish, or of some other substance of that kind?

If that should have been the case, he made oil-painting more agreeable and more expeditious; and indeed that alone was wanting in order to make it more acceptable and more general. Its great advantages became ever more conspicuous by a more frequent use; and the consequence must have been, that distemper and water-colours fell soon into the same neglect, in which the painting with linseed-oil or linseed-oil varnish had been held before. This supposition will account likewise for the accident, which according to *Vasari* led *Van Eyck* to his discovery. Distemper or water-colours, whether varnished or not, do not require for drying any remarkable heat of the sun; if they were at all to be exposed to it, it was only for drying up the oil, which is a constituent part of the varnish. It is probable therefore, that he dried his linseed-oil pictures in the sun, and that the accident, which befel him, induced him to mix his colours with some oil or substance, which disposed them to dry in a less dangerous and tedious manner. The same supposition accounts extremely well for his having kept his discovery a secret during many years. It was not the use of oil in  
general,

general, which any body might have found out directly, but the use of a particular oil or substance, mixed with the colours, which was less exposed and obvious to the sagacity of the observers, and which he well might keep as a secret for a long space of time.

Such perhaps has been the misrepresented and misunderstood discovery of the *Van Eycks*, and so one might perhaps apologize for *Vasari*.

However, it is mere pleading possibilities, and as long as there are no *direct* proofs in their favour, it is no more than good-natured respect for names of great celebrity. We must never forget, that one hundred and fifty years elapsed since the times of the *Van Eycks*, before any Flemish, Dutch, or other historian, made any mention of their new improvement; and that *Vasari*, the first who recorded it, and his first copyist *Van Mander*, are guilty not only of contradictory, improbable, and false accounts in respect to *Van Eyck's* discovery, but likewise in respect to many other artists and their discoveries, which is certainly no great inducement to depend upon their word, and to explain their lies or their errors away, whether they arise from bad information, or from want of honour and judgment.

What *Vasari* tells us of *Margaritone*, an Italian master of the XIIIth century, "that he was the first, who thought of and invented the necessary methods for securing pictures on boards against breaking, shivering, and flying off; that for that purpose he covered the boards with linen cloth, pasted on with a strong glue of parchment, and then laid a plaister-ground over them," is absolutely false. It is false in respect of the plaister-ground on wood, which appears and is proved to have been known and practised by the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. It is likewise false in respect to the joining and covering of the boards with linen cloth, as appears from the XVIIth chapter of Theophilus, which is inscribed *De tabulis altarium & ostiorum & glutine casei*; that is to say, of *Altar-tables, doors, and a mastick of cheese*. It gives the fullest and most satisfactory account how the boards must be joined



with this excellent mastic\*, so well known by many artists, and so highly commendable for its resisting wet and heat; it relates how they must be covered afterwards with half tanned skins or with new cloth, as is recommended in his XIXth chapter. It teaches, likewise, how leather and hartshorn-glue or size is to be prepared for the chalk or plaister-ground, which is to be laid on that linen or skin-covering, and must be polished and smoothened with rush (*Asperella*.) *Vasari* has no better foundation in praising his countryman *Margaritone* for having first made basso-relievo, festoons, and other such ornaments of and on chalk and plaister, and for having invented the bole-ground for gilding; because both these arts may be traced to the earlier ages of the Egyptians and Greeks; and gilding in particular had been described by *Theophilus* in the XXIIId chapter of the manuscript at Cambridge, which is inscribed *de petula auri*, and gives an account of nearly the same operations, which are used by our goldbeaters.

As to *Van Eyck's* having been acquainted with varnishes, before he invented the linseed and nut-oil varnish, there is certainly little truth in *Vasari's* and less in his copyist *Van Mander's* assertion. Oil-varnishes were known in the earlier antiquity; and the making of linseed-oil varnish in particular was taught already in the XIXth or XXIst chapter of *Theophilus*, which is inscribed *De Glutine Vernition*, and proves, amongst several other things, that in the days of *Theophilus* they had no more a particular Latin word for the varnishes, than the Romans had, who seem to have called and confounded them with the *atraments* on account of their darknes, and with the *glutens* or glues on account of their binding and joining quality, which they acquire by drying, and have in common, but in a higher degree, with the common leather-parchment,

\* It is described likewise in an old compilation of different arts, which is inserted in Muratori's *Tomus II. Antiquitatum Italicarum*. It was unknown to Kunckel in his school of the arts. Quacks make a secret of it.

parchment, or other glues. But let us hear *Theophilus*, that *Vasari* and *Van Mander* may stand fully convicted. He says in the just mentioned chapter \*, ¶ Put linseed-oil in a new pot; add to it some pounded  
 “ gummi, which is called *Fornis*, and resembles the clearest frankincense,  
 “ though when broken it appears clearer and more glossy on the  
 “ fractures. Set it on a coal fire, and inspissate or evaporate it to  
 “ two-thirds without boiling, and take care of the fire, for it is very  
 “ dangerous and apt to catch the flame, which is hardly to be extin-  
 “ guished again. Every kind of painting (whether in oil or distemper)  
 “ glazed or covered with this glue, becomes shining, glossy, and du-  
 “ rable.” I do not enquire here what sort of gummi or rosin *Theophilus*  
 meant by his *Fornis*; but I cannot help observing that the word *Fornis*,  
 from which the barbarous Latin *Vernition*, and the French and English  
*Varnish* and *Vernis* are visibly derived, seems to be rather a modern  
 Greek than a German word, though *Wachter* in his Glossary has looked  
 upon it to be a Latin one, and Mr. *Lessing* would have it to be a  
 German radix †; for it is not used in German as a name of rosin, but  
 as a general name of varnishes, made of gums or of rosins, with spirits  
 or with oils.

*Theophilus* gives us, soon after, another recipe for making linseed-oil  
 varnish from a gum, which the Romans, as he tells us, called *Glassa*:  
*quod Romane Glassa dicitur*: and which seems to have been amber; for  
 the

\* Pone oleum lini in ollam novam parvulam & adde gummi, quod vocatur  
*Fornis*, minutissime tritum, quod habet speciem lucidissimi thuris sed cum frangitur  
 fulgorem clariorem reddit. Quod cum super carbones posueris, coque diligenter,  
 sic ut non bulliat, donec tertia pars consumatur & cave a flamma, quia periculosum  
 nimis est & difficile extinguatur si accendatur. Hoc glutine omnis pictura superli-  
 nita lucida fit & decora ac omnino durabilis.

† Vom Alter der Oelmahlerey, Not. (X.) where he mentions, that the Authors  
 of the *Acta Sanctorum Antverpiensia*, have given another Etymology in Mens.  
 April. Tom. II. p. 302.

the ancients called some distant northern countries in Europe, which were supposed to produce it, and produce it still in great plenty, *Insulas Glessarias*. *Theophilus* has not only given us these two different recipes of oil-varnishes, but he has as accurately told us in different places of his manuscript what they are good for, and that they are not only of great use for varnishing oil and distemper-pictures, but likewise for many other mechanical purposes, such as preparing and painting and gilding leather, saddles, and other utensils. See his XXIIId, XXVth, and XXVIth chapters. *De sellis equestribus & ostensoris; de coloribus oleo & gummi terendis; & quotiens iidem colores ponendi sunt*. *Eraclius* was acquainted with the same. See his chapters *How gold is to be varnished*, and *how columns are to be prepared for painting*.

I might accumulate many other proofs of *Vasari's* credulity, want of information and judgment, and especially of his partiality to his country and to his countrymen\*, for almost every page of his book teems with the same in such a manner, that according to Father *Orlandi's* account in his *Abecedario Pittorico*, p. 340, a Roman painter, *Lodovico Antonio David*, had taken upon him to refute and to lay open his lies  
(*confutare*

\* *Baldinucci* in his voluminous and verbose *Notizie de' Professori del disegno*, has taken great pains to support *Vasari's* assertions in favour of the Florentine artists, which *Ridolfi*, *Malvasia*, *Maffei* and *Muratori* had justly controverted; but he has certainly laboured in vain; and instead of supporting the credit of *Vasari*, he has rather exposed his own partiality to his country. To give an instance of it. *Dante*, *Boccaccio*, and *Villani*, had been very liberal in praising their friends and countrymen *Cimabue* and *Giotto*. On no other authority than this, *Vasari* wilfully neglects to mention those Italian artists, who lived before their period, in order to tell us, that the art of painting was absolutely lost in Italy since the times of Constantine, till *Cimabue* and *Giotto* revived it at Florence after the latter part of the XIIIth century; which has been proved to be false in every respect, not only by the above-mentioned authors, but chiefly by Father *Tiraboschi* in his excellent *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, and by Mr. C. J. J. *Brieffe über Italien*, published at Weymar, 1780.



(*confutare le menzogne del Vasari*) in an inedited book under the title of *Disinganno delle principali notizie delle Arti del Disegno*; but what would it avail in this place? I have sufficiently proved the falsehood of his stories in favour of *John Van Eyck's* pretended first discovery of oil-painting; and if my Readers should be liberally inclined to apologize for *Van Eyck*, in the manner I have stated before, and for his historian *Vasari*, because he was the first, who gave and attempted a biographical history of the painters, I have no objection to it. *Amicus Eyckius, Amicus Vasari — sed magis amica Veritas!*

THEOPHILUS

THE HISTORY OF THE PAINTING

It is a very old painting, and is said to be the work of a very famous painter. It is now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, and is one of the most valuable in his collection. It is a very fine example of the art of painting, and is well worth seeing. It is a very old painting, and is said to be the work of a very famous painter. It is now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, and is one of the most valuable in his collection. It is a very fine example of the art of painting, and is well worth seeing.

THE HISTORY OF THE PAINTING

THEOPHILUS MONACHUS

D E

OMNI SCIENTIA ARTIS PINGENDI

E

CODICE MANUSCRIPTO

COLLEGII TRINITATIS CANTABRIG.

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THEOLOGY - MONACHUS

THEOLOGY - MONACHUS

THEOLOGY - MONACHUS

THEOLOGY - MONACHUS

# THEOPHILUS MONACHUS

DE

OMNI SCIENTIA ARTIS PINGENDI, &c.

*Hic incipit Tractatus lumbardicus Qualiter temperantur colores ad depingendum.*

**S**ENSIM per partes discuntur quælibet artes.  
Artis pictorum prior factura colorum.  
Post ad mixturas committat mens tua curas.  
Hoc opus exerce, sed ad unguem cuncta coherce.  
Ut sit ad ornatum quod pinxeris & quasi natum.  
Postea multorum documentis ingeniorum  
Ars opus augebit. Sicut liber iste docebit.

*Incipit prefacio in libro Theophili admirabilis & doctissimi magistri de omni scientia artis pingendi.*

Theophilus servus servorum Dei, indignus nomine & professione monachi omnibus mentis desidiam animique utili manuum occupatione & delectabili novitatum meditatione declinare & calcare volentibus retributionem premii. Legimus in exodo mundane creationis hominem ad ymaginem & similitudinem conditum & inspiratione divini spiraculi terminatum excellencia dignitatis ceteris animantibus prerogatum ut rationis capax, divinæ prudencie consilii, ingeniique mereretur principium, arbitriique libertate donatus solius conditoris sui susciperet voluntatem ut revereretur

ipsum. Qui hastu diabolico misere deceptus propter inobediencie culpam privilegium immortalitatis amiserit. tamen intelligencie & naturæ dignitatem adeo in posteritatis propaginem transtulit. ut quicumque curam sollicitudinemque addiderit ut tocus ingenii artisque capacitatem quasi hereditario iure adipisci possit. Huiusmodi intentionem humana suscipiens sollertia in diversum actibus suis insistens lucris & voluptatibus per temporum incrementa tandem ad predestinata perduxit tempora. Factumque est ut quædam ad gloriam & laudem nominis sui conditoris dispositio preordinetur divina. in eius obsequium converteret plebs Deo devota. Quæ propter quæ ad nostram usque ætatem sollers predecessorum transtulit provisio. pia fidelium non negligat devotio atque hereditarium Deus contulit homini. Hoc homo omni aviditate amplectatur & laboret adipisci. Quo adepto nemo apud se quasi ex se & non aliunde accepto gloriatur. nec concessa invidie sacculo recondat aut tenacis armariolo cordis occultet. sed omni iactancia repulsa. hilari mente simpliciter quærentibus eroget. metuatque evangelicam illius sententiam mercatoris. qui domino suo reassignare dissimulans pecuniam feneratam omni beneficio privatus. oris sui iudicio nequicquam promeruit notam. Quam sententiam incurrere formidans. ego indignus & pene ullius nominis homuncio. quæ mihi gratis concessit. quæ dat omnibus affluenter & non impropere divina dignatio. cunctis humiliter discere volentibus gratis offero. & ut in me benignitatem Dei recognoscant. largitatemque mirentur ammoneo. & ut idem si addiderint opera sibi presto esse. procul dubio credant insinuo. Sicuti enim homini cuicumque vetitum. ut in debitum cuiuscunque mali ambitione attemptare siue rapina usurpare iniquum est & detestabile. Sic iure debitum & ex predicto hereditarium. intemptatum negligere. aut contemptui ducere. ignaviæ adscribitur ac stulticiæ. Tu ergo quicumque es fili Hermanne. cui Deus misit in cor campum latissimum diversarum artium perscrutari & ut exinde quæ libuerit colligas. intellectum curamque apponere. non vilipendas precia & utilia quecunque quasi ea tibi sponte aut insperato domestica.



domestica terra produxerit. quod stultus negociator est qui subito thesaurum fossa humo repperit. si illum servare & colligere neglexerit. Quod si tibi arbuta vilia, mirram & thus & balsama producerent. seu fontes domestici oleum, lac, & mel profunderent. Siue pro urtica & carduo. ceteris orti graminibus nardus & fistula ac diversorum generum aromata crescerent. numquid his contemptis tanquam vilibus & domesticis. ad externa nec meliora. sed fortassis viliora componenda circumires terram & maria? Et hoc te iudice foret grandis stulticia. quamvis enim homines soleant quaelibet preciosa multo sudore quaesita, sumptuumque numerositate comparata. primo loco reponere summaque tueri cautela. tamen si forte interdum occurrerent aut inveniantur paria seu meliora. non dissimili imo maiori tueantur custodia. Quapropter fili dulcissime quem dominus omnino beatum fecit in hac parte quae tibi gratis offeruntur quae multi marinos secantes fluctus cum summo vitae periculo famis ac frigoris artati necessitate. aut diuturna doctorum fessi servitute. nec fatigati discendi desiderio. intollerabili tamen adquirent labore. hanc diversarum artium scedulam avidis obtutibus tenaci memoria perlege. ardenti amore amplectere. quod si diligenter perscruteris. illic invenies. quicquid diversorum colorum generibus & mixturis habet Grecia. quicquid in electorum operositate seu nigelli varietate novit Tuscia. quicquid fusili seu ductili vel interrasili operi distinguit Arabia. quicquid in vasorum diversitate seu gemmarum ossumque sculptura. auro decolorat Italia. quicquid in fenestrarum varietate preciosa diligit Francia. quicquid in auri argenti cupri ferri lignorum lapidumque sublimitate sollers laudat Germania. Que cum sepe relegeris & tenaci memoria compensaveris. quociens labore meo bene usus fueris. ores pro me apud Dei omnipotentis clementiam. qui scit me nec humane laudis amore nec temporalis premii cupiditate quae digesta sunt conscripsisse. aut invidie livore preciosum quid aut rarum subtraxisse. aut peculiariter mihi reservatum conticuisse. sed in augmentum honoris

&amp;

& glorie nominis eius multorum necessitatibus occurrisse. & profectibus consuluiffe.

*Incipiunt capitula libri sequentis.*

- De temperancia colorum in nudis corporibus.
- De colore prasino.
- De posch primo.
- De posch secundo.
- De rosa prima.
- De rosa secunda.
- De lumina prima.
- De lumina secunda.
- De Veneda in oculis ponenda.
- De capillis puerorum & adolescentum & iuvenum.
- De barbis adolescentum.
- De capillis & barbis decrepitorum & senum.
- De exedra & ceteris coloribus vultuum.
- De mixtura diverforum colorum in vestimentis quæ fiunt in parcha-  
meno.
- De mixtura colorum in muro.
- De tractu qui imitatur speciem pluvialis arcus.
- Quomodo tabule altarium sive ostia preparentur ad pingendum.
- Quomodo ostia vel tabule pingantur & de oleo lini.
- De Vernicio.
- De fellis equestribus.
- De auri petula.
- De Stagno attenuando.
- De coloribus oleo & gummi terendis.
- Quociens idem colores ponendi sunt.

De

De pictura translucida\*.

*Incipit liber primus de temperamento colorum.*

Color qui dicitur membrana quo pinguntur facies & nuda corpora sic componitur. Tolle cerussam vel album quod fit ex plumbo & mitte eam non tritam sed ita ut est & siccam in vas aereum vel ferreum & pone super prunas ardentes & combure donec vertatur in flavum colorem. deinde tere eum & admisce ei album vel cerussam & cenobrium vel sinopidem. donec carni similis fiat. Quorum colorum mixtura in tuo sit arbitrio ut si verbi gratia rubeas facies habere vis. plus adde cenobrii. si vero candidiores plus adde albi. Si autem pallidas appone modicum prasini.

*De Prasino.* Qui prasinus est quasi confectio quedam habens similitudinem viridis coloris & nigri cuius natura talis est ut non teritur super

\* The copyist has added at the end the following recipes, which do not belong to Theophilus; for they are not mentioned either in this Index Capitum, or in the old Wolfenbüttel Manuscript, or in that of the Publick Library at Cambridge.

De molendo auro & de molendino eius.

Quomodo aurum vel argentum libris imponatur.

Quomodo decoratur pictura cum stagno.

De molendo auro secundum Flandrenses.

Quomodo scribitur de auro.

Aliud.

De eadem arte sicut supra.

Iterum.

Item ad idem.

De eadem arte.

Adhuc audi.

Item.

Item.

Item.



super lapidem sed missus in aquam resolvitur & per pannum diligenter colatur. Cuius virtus in recenti muro pro viridi colore satis utilis habetur.

*De Posch.* Cum vero membranam miscueris & inde facies & nuda corpora impleveris. admisce prasinum & rubeum. qui comburitur ex ocra vel ocre. & modicum cenobii & confice posch. ex quo signabis supercilia & oculos & nares & os & mentum & fossulas circa nares & tempora & rugas in fronte & collo & rotunditatem faciei. barbas iuvenum & articulos manuum & pedum & omnia membra quæ distinguuntur.

*De rosa prima.* Deinde misce cum simplici membrana modicum cenobii & minii & confice colorem qui dicitur rosa, unde rubricabis utramque maxillam & os & manum & inferius collum & rugas frontis modice. ipsam frontem secundum tempora ex utraque parte. articulos & cetera membra in nudo corpore.

*De lumina prima.* Post hæc misce cum simplici membrana cerussam tritam & compone colorem qui dicitur lumina. unde illuminabis supercilia nasum in longitudinem & similiter foramina narium ex utraque parte & subtiles tractus circa tempora & oculos & mentum superius & iuxta nares & os ex utraque parte & frontem superius inter rugas modice & collum in medio & circa nares ac articulos manuum ac pedum. & brachiorum in medio.

*De Veneda.* Dein misce nigrum cum modico albo, qui color vocatur Veneda & inde imple pupillas oculorum. Adde ei etiam amplius de albo eoque imple oculos ex utraque parte & album simplex linies inter pupillam & ipsum colorem & cum aqua lavabis.

*De Posch secundo.* Postea accipe posch de quo supra dictum est & admisce ei amplius de prasino & rubeo ita ut umbra fit antierius coloris & imple medium spatium inter supercilia & oculos & sub oculis medium & iuxta nasum & inter os & mentum & granones seu barbillas adolescentum. palmas dimidias. versus pollicem & pedes. & super

super minutos articulos & facies puerorum ac mulierum. a mento usque ad tempora.

*De rosa secunda.* Deinde misce cum rosa cenobium & linies inde in medio oris ita ut anterior superius inferiusque pareat & fac subtiles tractus super rosam in facie. in collo & fronte & designabis inde articulos in palmis & iuncturas omnium membrorum & ungulas.

*De lumina secunda.* Et si facies nimis tenebrosa fuerit ut ei non sufficiat una lumina adde ei amplius de albo & superlinies subtiles tractus per omnia.

*De capillis puerorum.* Posthæc misce per omnia modicum nigri cum ogra & imple capillos puerorum & discerne eos cum nigro. adde amplius nigri cum ogra & imple capillos iuvenum. & illumina cum secunda.

*De barbis adolescentium.* Misce prasin & rubeum & si vis rosæ modicum & imple barbas iuvenum. Misce ogram & nigrum & rubeum & imple capillos iuvenum & illumina ogra modico nigro mixto & ex eadem mixtura fac nigros tractus in barba.

*De capillis senum.* Misce modicum nigri cum cerussa. imple capillos & barbas decrepitorum. Adde eidem colori amplius nigri & imple capillos & barbas senum & fac tractus ex eodem colore admixto ei nigro & modico rubeo & illumina eo unde decrepitos impleueras. Eo ordine si vis adhuc nigriorem capillos & barbas compone.

*De exedra.* Deinde admisce rubeo modicum nigri, qui color vocatur exedra. & fac inde tractus circa pupillas oculorum & in medio oris & subtiles tractus inter os & mentum. Posthec cum simplici rubeo fac supercilia & subtiles tractus inter oculos & supercilia & in oculos inferius & in plena facie. nasum in dextra parte & super nares ex utraque parte & os inferius & circa frontem & maxillas senum interius & circa digitos manuum & articulos pedum interius & conversa facie. circa nares in anteriori parte. Supercilia vero senum siue decrepitorum facies cum Veneda, unde pupillas implesti.

M

Deinde

Deinde cum simplici nigro iuvenum supercilia facies. ita ut superius aliquantulum rubei appareat. & oculos superius & foramina narium & os ex utraque parte & circa articulos manus & digitos exterius. & articulos & ceteros corporis tractus. Omnis vero tractus circa corpora. sicut in rubeo & ungues designabis cum exteriore rosa.

*De mixtura diversorum colorum (in vestimentis que fiunt in parchameno.)* Misce menesch cum folio siue nigro & modico rubeo & imple vestimentum. Admisce etiam modicum nigri & fac tractus. Deinde misceatur cum modico menesch siue cum folio siue cum eodem colore unde implesti & illumina primum & cum puro lazur illumina superius. Posthæc misce parum albi cum lazur & subtiles raros tractus. Imple vestimentum cum rubeo & ut rubeum sit pallidum adde modicum nigri. Inde misce amplius nigri cum eodem & fac tractus. Deinde misce modicum rubei cum cenobrio & illumina superius. Imple vestimentum cum cenobrio & misce cum eodem rubeo. & fac tractus. Deinde misce primum modicum menesch cum cenobrio & illumina primum. Posthæc illumina cum simplici minio. Ad extremum modicum nigri cum rubeo misce & fac exteriorem umbram. Misce purum viride cum ogra ita ut de ogra plus sit & imple vestimentum. Adde eidem colori modicum de succo & parum rubei & fac tractus. Misce eidem colori unde implesti album & illumina primum. Adde plus albi & illumina exterius. Misce etiam cum superiori umbra plus fucci & rubei & parum viridis & fac umbram exteriorem. Misce succum folii cum cerussa & imple vestimentum. Posthæc cum simplici cerussa vel folio umbram exteriorem. Ad extremum modicum folii triti. & modicum cenobrii. misce in priori umbra & fac exteriorem. Ex hac mixtura facies tria genera vestimentorum. Unum purpureum. aliud violaticum. tertium candidum. Misce viride cum succo & adde modicum ogræ & imple vestimentum. Adde plus de succo & fac tractum. Adde etiam modicum nigri & fac umbram. Adde cum impletione viridis plus. & illumina primum. Cum puro viridi



viridi illumina exterius & si opus sit adde ei modicum albi. Misce modicum cenobrii cum auripigmento & imple vestimentum. adde parum rubei & fac tractus. cum simplici rubeo umbram exteriolem. Adde cum impletione plus auripigmenti & illumina primum. Cum simplici auripigmento illumina exterius. Usus huius vestimenti non in muro. Misce auripigmentum cum modico siue vis cum menesch. siue vis cum succo Sambuci & imple vestimentum. Adde plus de succo siue menesch. siue de indico. & fac tractum. Adde modicum nigri & fac umbram exteriolem. Deinde plus auripigmenti cum impletione & illumina primum cum simplici aurigmento illumina superius. Auripigmentum & quicquid ex eo totum operatur non valet in muro. Misce menesch cum folio & imple vestimentum. Adde plus folii & fac tractus. Adde etiam parum nigri & fac exteriolem umbram. Cum simplici menesch illumina primum. Adde parum albi & illumina superius. Misce ogram cum nigro & imple vestimentum. adde nigri plus & fac tractus. Adde etiam plus & fac umbram exteriolem. Adde ogra plus cum impletione & illumina primum. Adde etiam plus & illumina superius. Cum ogra & rubeo fac similiter. Misce album & viride & imple vestimentum. cum simplici viridi fac tractus. Adde parum succi & fac umbram exteriolem. Adde plus albi cum impletione. & illumina primum. Cum simplici albo illumina superius. Misce modicum nigri cum albo & imple vestimentum. Adde plus rubei & parum nigri & fac tractus. Adde etiam plus nigri & rubei & fac umbram exteriolem. Adde cum impletione plus albi & illumina primum. Cum simplici albo illumina superius. Misce menesch cum albo & indico quo superius. Misce similiter nigrum cum albo. Eodem modo misce ogram cum albo & in umbram eius adde modicum rubei.

*Quomodo pingatur in muro.* In muro imple vestimentum ogra addito ei modicum calcis propter fulgorem & fac tractus eius siue cum simplici rubeo siue cum prasino vel ex posch. qui fit ex ogra & viridi.

Membrana in muro miscetur ex ogra & cenobrio & calce & pösch & lumina fiant ut supra. Cum imagines vel aliarum rerum effigies protrahuntur in muro sicco statim aspergentur aqua tam diu donec omnino madidus sit. & in eodem liniuntur omnes colores qui superponendi sunt. qui omnes calce misceantur & cum ipso muro siccentur ut haereant. In campo sub lazur & viridi ponatur color qui dicitur veneda mixtus ex nigro & calce. super quem cum siccus fuerit. ponatur in suo loco lazur tenuis cum ovi mediolo abundanter aqua mixto temperatus. & super hunc iterum spissior propter decorem. Viridi quoque misceatur cum succo & nigro.

*De arcu pluiali & quomodo pingendo debemus eum imitari.* Tractus qui imitatur speciem pluialis arcus coniungitur multis coloribus videlicet cenobrio & viridi. Item cenobrio & menesch & ogra. Item cenobrio & folio. qui hoc modo componuntur. Fiunt duo tractus equa latitudine unus ex rubro calce mixto. In laqueari vero ipsum cenobrium similiter cum creta mixtum. Alter vero viridis pari modo mixtus absque succo & inter eos fiat albus tractus. Deinde misce ex cenobrio & albo quot colores volueris, ita ut primus sit modicum cenobrium & secundus plus & tertius amplius. Quartus adhuc plus donec perveniat ad simplex cenobrium. Deinde eidem modicum rubei, deinde simplex rubeum. Post hoc rubeum nigro misce. Ad ultimum nigrum. Simili modo commisce colores ex viridi & albo donec perveniat ad simplex viride. Deinde admisce modicum succum. commisce iterum & adde plus succi. Posthæc misce modicum nigri deinde plus ad ultimum simplex nigrum. Umbram vero in ogra facies cum rubeo. Ad ultimum addito nigro. Umbram menesch cum folio. addito ad ultimum nigro. Umbram folii cum rubeo. ad ultimum addito nigro. Qui colores ita ponendi sunt ut ex medio pallidiores procedant. & ita ascendant usque ad exterius nigrum. Horum tractuum nusquam plusquam XII. esse possunt in nigro colore. Et si tot volueris. sic tempera mixturas. ut simplex in octavo loco

loco ponatur. Si volueris novem. in sexto loco simplex pone. Si volueris sex in quarto. Si quinque in tercio. Si quatuor vel tres non interponas eis simplex. sed cum qui ante simplicem poni deberet habeas pro simplici & eidem admisce umbram. usque ad alterius nigrum. Hoc opere fiunt . . . . . rotundi & quadranguli & tractus circa limbos & arborum stipites cum ramis & columnæ & turres rotundæ & sedilia & quodcunque rotundum apparere velis. Fiunt etiam super columnas arcus in domibus eodem opere sed uno colore ita ut tercius albus sit exterius nigrum. Turres rotundæ fiunt cum ogra ita ut in medio sit tercius albus & ex utraque parte procedat ogra omnino pallida & paulatim trahens croceum colorem usque penultimum tractum cum quo misceatur modicum rubei. deinde modice amplius sic tamen ut nec simplex ogra nec simplex rubeum appareat. Eodem modo & eadem mixtura fiunt turres & columnæ ex albo & nigro. Stipites arborum misceantur ex viridi & ogra addito nigro & succo. Quo colore & pinguntur terræ, montes . . . . . Fiunt etiam terræ & montes ex viridi & albo siue succo ita ut interius sit pallidum & exterius trahat umbras mixtas cum modico nigro. Omnes colores qui aliis superponuntur in muro calce misceantur propter fortitudinem. Sub lazur & menesch & sub viridi ponatur veneda. Sub cenobrio rubeum. Sub ogra & folio iidem colores mixti.

*De tabulis altarium quomodo pingantur.* Tabulæ altarium siue ostium primum particulatim diligenter coniungantur iunctorio instrumento quo utuntur dolarii siue tornarii. Deinde componatur glutine casei qui hoc modo fit. Caseus mollis de vacca minutatim incidatur & aqua calida in mortariolo cum pila tamdiu lavetur donec aqua multociens infusa pura inde exeat. Deinde idem caseus manu mittatur in frigidam aquam donec indurescat. Posthoc teratur minutissime super ligneam tabulam equalem cum altero ligno. Sicque rursus mittatur in mortariolo cum pila diligentissime tondatur. addita aqua cum viva calce mixta donec sic spissum factum sit ut sunt feces. Hoc glutine tabulæ com-



compaginatae postquam siccantur ita sibi inhaerent ut nec humore nec calore disiungi possint. Postmodum equari debent planatorio ferro. quod curvum & interius acutum habet duo manubria ut utraque manu trahatur. unde raduntur ostia tabulae & scuta. donec omnino fiant plana. Inde cooperiantur corio crudo equi siue asini siue bovis, quod aqua madefactum, mox ut pili rasi fuerunt, aqua aliquantulum extorqueatur & ita humidum cum glutine casei supponatur. Quo diligenter exiccato. tolle incisuras eiusdem corii. similiter exiccata & particulatim incide & accipiens cornua cervi minutatim confracta malleo ferrarii super incudem. compone in ollam novam donec sit dimidia & imple eam aqua. Sicque adhibe igne donec excoquatur tertia pars eiusdem aquae sic tamen & combulliat. & ita probabis. Fac digitos tuos humidos eadem aqua & cum refrigerata fuerit. si sibi adherent, bonum est gluten. Sin autem, tandin coque donec sibi adhereant. Deinde effunde ipsum gluten in vas mundum & imple ollam aqua. sicut prius. sicque facies usque quartum. Posthoc tolle gipsum more calcis combustum siue cretam qua pelles dealbantur & tere diligenter super lapidem cum aqua. deinde mittes in vas testum & infundes gluten corii. pone super carbonem ut gluten liquefiat. Sicque linies cum pincello super ipsum corium tenuissime. ac deinde cum siccum fuerit linies aliquantulum spissius. & si opus fuerit linies tercio. Cumque siccum fuerit omnino tolle herbam, quae vocatur asperella, quae crescit in similitudinem iunci et est nodosa quam in estate colligeris. Siccabis in sole & exinde fricabis ipsam dealbaturam. donec omnino plana & lucida sit.

*Quomodo ostia pingantur.* Si autem volueris ostia rubricare. tolle oleum lini quod hoc modo fit. Accipe semen lini & exicca illud in sartagine super ignem sine aqua. Deinde mitte in mortarium & contunde illud pila donec tenuissimus pulvis fiat. Rursum mittens illud in sartaginem & infundens modicum aquae. Sic calefacies fortiter.

Postea

Postea involue illud in pannum novum & pone in pressatorium in quo solet oleum olivæ vel nucum vel papaveris exprimi. & eodem modo etiam illud exprimatur. Cum hoc oleo tere minium siue cenobrium super lapidem sine aqua & cum pincello linies super ostia vel tabulas, quas rubricare volueris. & ad solem siccabis.

*De Vernicio.* Pone oleum lini in ollam novam parvulam & adde gummi quod vocatur fornis minutissime tritum quod habet speciem lucidissimi thuris sed cum frangitur fulgorem reddit. Quod cum super carbones posueris. coque diligenter sic. ut non bulliat donec tertia pars consumatur. & cave a flamma quod periculosum est nimis & difficile extinguitur si accendatur. Hoc glutine omnis pictura superlinita lucida fit & decora. ac omnino durabilis. Si vero defuerit corium ad cooperiendas tabulas eodem modo & eodem glutine cooperiantur cum panno mediocri novo.

*Item alio modo.* Compone quatuor vel tres lapides qui possint ignem sustinere. ita ut resiliant & super ipsos pone ollam rudem & in eam mitte supradictum gummi fornis quod romana glassa vocatur & super os huius ollae pone ollam minorem. quae habeat in fundo modicum foramen. & circumlinies ei pastam ita ut nichil spiraminis inter ipsas ollas exeat. Habebis etiam ferrum gracile manubrio impositum unde commovebis ipsum gummi & cum quo sentire possis ut omnino liquidum fiat. Habeas quoque ollam tertiam super carbones positam in qua sit oleum calidum & cum gummi penitus liquidum fuerit ita ut extracto ferro quasi filum trahatur. infunde ei oleum calidum & ferro commove & insimul coque ut non bulliat & interdum extrahie ferrum & lini modice super lignum sive super lapidem ut probes diversitatem eius & hoc caveas in pondere ut sint duae partes olei & tertia gummi. Cumque ad libitum tuum coxeris diligenter ab igne removens & discooperiens refrigerari sine.

*De sellis equestribus.* Sellas autem equestres & octosoros sellas plicatorias.

torias. ac scabella & cetera quae sculpuntur & non possunt corio vel panno cooperiri. mox ut raseris ferro. fricabis asperella. Sicque bene dealbabis. & cum sicca fuerint rursus asperella fricabis. & planabis. Posthaec in circino & rota metire & dispone opus tuum. videlicet ymagines & bestias & aves & folia. Sive quaecunque protrahere volueris. opus tuum auri petulam impones. quam tali modo facies.

*De Auri petula.* Tolle parcamenam grecam, quæ fit ex lana ligni & fricabis eam ex utraque parte cum rubeo colore qui comburitur ex ogra minutissime trito & sicco. & polies eum dente castori vel urfi vel apri diligentissime donec lucida fiat. & idem color ipsa fricatione adhereat. Deinde incide forcipe ipsam parcamenam per partes quadras. ad latitudinem IV. digitorum equaliter latas. & longas. Postmodum facies ex eadem mensura ex perchameno vituli quasi marsupium & fortiter consues. ita amplum ut multas partes rubricate perchamene possis imponere. Quo facto tolle aurum purum & fac illud attenuari malleo super incudem equalem diligentissime. ita ut nulla in eo sit fractura & incide illud per quartas partes ad mensuram duorum digitorum. Deinde mittes in illud marsupium unam partem rubricate perchamene. & super eam unam partem auri in medio. sicque perchamenam & rursus aurum. atque ita facies donec impleatur marsupium. & aurum semper sit in medio comminutum. Deinde habeas malleum fusilem auricalco iuxta manubrium gracile & implanatum. unde percucies ipsum marsupium super lapidem magnum & equalem nec graviter sed moderate. & cum sepius respexeris. considerabis utrum velis ipsum aurum omnino tenue facere vel mediocriter spissum. Si autem supercreuerit aurum extenuando & marsupium excefferit precidens illud forcipe parvo & levi tantummodo ad hoc opus parato. Hec est ratio petule. Quam cum secundum libitum tuum attenuaveris ex ea incidēs particulas quantas volueris & inde ornabis coronas circa capita ymaginum & stolas & vesti-



uestimentorum oras & cetera ut libuerit. Imponendo autem aurum tolle glaream, que percutitur ex albugine ovi sine aqua & inde cum pincello leniter linies locum in quo ponendum est aurum & cauda eiusdem pincelli in ore tuo madefacta contingens unum cornu eiusdem petule & ita eleuans cum summa uelocitate impones & cum pincello equabis. Ea hora oportet te a uento cauere & ab anhelitu continere. quod si flaueris, petulam perdes & difficile reperiēs. Que cum polita fuerunt & siccata. & si uolueris eodem modo alteram superponere. & terciam similiter si opus fuerit. ut eo lucidius cum dente siue cum lapide polire possis. Hanc etiam petulam si uolueris in muro & laqueari super stagni petulam uerniciatam ponere poteris. Quod si non habueris aurum. stagnum purissimum attenuabis include diligenter malleo quantas & quot tenues partes uolueris. Et cum aliquantulum attenuari ceperit. purgabis eas in una parte panno laneo & siccis carbonibus. sicque singulis uicibus facies. donec omnino attenuaueris. Post hec fricabis eas dente apri leniter super ligneam tabulam usque lucide fiant. Deinde conjunge eas partes unam ad alteram super ligneam tabulam & adherere eas singulas facias cum cera ad lignum. ne possint moveri. & superlinies eas manu tua ex predicto glutine uernicio. atque siccabis ad solem. Postmodum accipe virgas ligni putridi. quas in aprili cum incideris. findes per medium & siccabis ad furnum. Deinde auferes exteriorē corticem & interiorē qui est croceus rades in patella munda. addens ei croceum ad quartam partem. & perfunde hoc uino ueteri siue ceruisia habundanter. Et cum ita per noctem steterit in crastinum calefacies super ignem donec tepefiat. Sicque impones super tabulas stagneas sigillatim & frequenter eleuabis. donec consideres quod aureum colorem trahant. Posthoc rursum adherebis eas lignee tabule superlinitas glutine. Sicut prius. Et cum siccate fuerint reponere. Ita habes stagneas petulas quas pones operi tuo secundum libitum tuum glutine corii. Ac deinde accipe colores quos ponere uolueris

uolueris terens eos diligenter oleo lini siue aqua & fac mixturas vultuum ac uestimentorum sicut superius aqua feceras. ac bestias siue aues ac folia variabis suis coloribus prout libuerit.

*De coloribus cum gumma terendis.* Omnia genera colorum eo ordine teri & poni possunt in opere ligneo in his tantum rebus quæ sole ficcari possunt. Quod quocienscunque unum colorem posueris alterum ei superponere non poteris. nisi prior exiccetur. quod in ymaginibus diuturnum & tediosum nimis est. Si autem uolueris opus tuum festinare. fume gummi quod exit de arbore citro uel pruno & concidens illud minutissime vel minutatim. pone in uas fictile. & aquam habundantissime infunde & pone ad solem siue ad carbones in hieme. donec gummi liquefiat & ligno rotundo diligenter commisce. deinde cola per pannum & inde tere colores & impone. Omnes colores & mixture eorum hoc gummi teri & imponi possunt. preter minium & cerussam & carmin. qui claro ovi terendi & ponendi sunt. Viride hispanum non misceatur sub glutine sed per se cum gummi ponatur. Aliud uero miscere potes si uolueris.

*Quociens tres colores ponendi sunt.* Omnes colores siue oleo lini siue gummi tritos ter debes ponere & pictura perfecta atque ficcata delato opere ad solem. diligenter linies illo glutino uernicion. & cum defluere ceperit a calore leniter manu fricabis atque tercio sic facies. & sine penitus donec omnino ficcetur.

*De pictura translucida.* Fit etiam pictura in ligno que dicitur translucida & apud quosdam aureola uocatur. quam hoc modo compones. Tolle petulam stagni non linitam glutine nec coloratam croco sed ita simplicem diligenter politam & inde cooperies locum quem ita pingere uolueris. Deinde uerniciata petula tere colores imponendos diligentissime oleo lini. ac ualde tenues trahe eos cum pincello. Sicque permitte ficcari.

*De molendo auro & de molendino eius.* Cum protraxeris ymagines vel literas  
in

in libris tolle aurum purum coctum & lima illud diligentissime in mundissima pelui siue baccino. sicque lauabis illud cum pincello in conca testudinis vel conchillii que de aqua tollitur. Deinde habeas molendinum cum pistello suo utraque fusilia. ex metallo cupri & stagni ita commixto ut tres partes sint cupri puri & quatuor stagni mundi a plumbo. His ita positis fundatur molendinum ad similitudinem mortarioli & pistellum eius circa ferrum qualiter nodus. ita ut ferrum inde procedat grossitudine unius digiti & longitudine modice amplius pedis dimidii. cuius ferri tertia pars insigatur ligno diligenter tornato ad longitudinem quasi unius ulne & rectissime forato. In cuius inferiori parte tamen a fine longitudinis quatuor digitorum sit rotula siue lignea siue plumbea tornatilis & in media parte superiori figatur corrigia. que trahi & retrahi possit molendino. Posthec mittatur ipsum molendinum in foramen super scamnum ad hoc aptatum inter duas columpnas ligneas in ipso scamno firmiter fixis. super que sit illud lignum eis insertum que possit eici & reponi. in cuius medio inferius sit foramen in quo uoluatur molendinum. addita modica aqua atque imposito pistillo. atque superiori ligno coaptato trahatur corrigia & revoluatur. Sicque fiat per duas vel tres horas. Tunc superius lignum eiiciatur & pistillum in eadem aqua pincello lauetur. Deinde molendinum lavetur cum aqua. Aurum usque ad fundum cum pincello moveatur & modice teneatur. donec quod grossius est resideat. atque in baccino mundissimo effundatur. & quicquid auri exierit cum aqua molitandum est. Rursumque imposita aqua repositisque pistello & superiori ligno tertium molatur eo ordine quo prius donec omnino pereat cum aqua. Tali modo molendum est aurum. argentum. auricalcum & cuprum. Sed aurum diligentius molendum est & leuiter trahendum. sepiusque respiciendum quod mollius ceteris metallis est ne forte adhereat molendino uel pistillo & conglomeretur. Quod si per negligentiam contigerit quod



conglomeratum est eradatur & eliciatur. & quod reliquum est usque ad effectum molatur. Quo facto superiorem aquam de bacino eiciens cum sordibus idem aurum diligenter lava in concam mundam. Deinde infundens aquam cum pincello move & cum per unam horam manu teneris. ipsam aquam in alteram concam funde & illud minutissimum quod cum aqua exierit serua. Rursumque imposita aqua cum super carbones calefac & mone. ac sicut prius minutum est aqua eice. sicque facies donec omnino purgetur. Posthoc ipsum minutum relava & ordine bis & tercio & quicquid auri susceperis priori admisce. Eodem ordine lauabis argentum, auricalcum & cuprum. Deinde tolle vesicam piscis qui vocatur usa & lauans aqua tercio tepida. incide particulatim ac mittens in ollam purissimam cum aqua. sine mollicari per noctem. & in crastinum coque super carbones ita ut non bulliat. donec probes. digitis tuis si adhereat. & cum fortiter adhererit bonum est.

*Quomodo aurum vel argentum libris imponatur.* Postea tolle minium purum. adde ei terciam partem cenobrii terens super lapidem. Quod diligenter trito percutere clarum ex albugine ovi. in estate cum aqua. in hieme sine aqua. & cum purum fuerit. mitte minium in cornu. & infunde clarum. impositoque ligno move modicum. & inde cum pincello imple omnia in quibus aurum velis imponere. Deinde pone ollulam super carbones cum glutine. & cum liqueverit funde in concam auri & lava illud intus. Quod cum infuderis in aliam concam in qua purgamentum seruatur. rursum infunde gluten calidum & tenens in palma manus sinistre. move diligenter cum pincello. & pone utrum uolueris spissum aut tenue. sic tamen ut glutinis modicum sit. quod si superhabundauerit. nigrescit aurum. & non recipit fulgorem. Postquam autem siccatum fuerit. polies illud dente vel lapide sanguinario. diligenter linito & polito super tabulam corneam. equalem ac lucidam. Quod si contigerit per negligenciam glutinis non bene cocti. aut aurum in fricando se pulerit.

vel

vel præ nimia spissitudine se eleuet. habeas penes te clarum uetus  
 sine aqua pereussam & mox cum piacello. de eo modicum ac le-  
 niter linies. cum siccum fuerit. de uno dente uel lapide fricabis.  
 Hoc modo aurum. argentum. auricalcum & cuprum in suis locis  
 pones & fricabis.

*Quomodo decoratur pictura cum stagno.* Si uero neutrum habueris & tamen  
 opus tuum quoquo modo decorare uolueris. tolle stagnum purum  
 & tamdiu minutissime mole & laua sicut aurum coctum. & pone  
 eodem glutine in literis tuis vel aliis locis que uolueris auro vel ar-  
 gento decorare vel ornare. perfundens illud sine aqua claro & cum  
 noctem steterit. sequenti die cum pincello cooperies ea loca que vo-  
 lueris decorare. cetera loca argenti habeto. Deinde facies subtiles  
 tractus circa libros. litteras & folia & nodos ex minio cum penna  
 & paraturas uestimentorum & cetera ornamenta.

*Item de molendo auro secundum Flandrenses.* Si ipsum aurum molere nes-  
 cimus. eundum est ad aurifices. ut illud molant sicut suam deau-  
 raturam molere consueuerunt. Sed tamen satis subtilius ad vestrum  
 quam ad suum usum. & penitus cum vivo argento miscendum.  
 Tunc deauratura illa cruda vel aurum cum vivo argento per corium  
 cervi extorquenda est. Vivum argentum exhibit. aurum remanebit.  
 tamen vivo argento infectum adhuc omnino. Hoc ergo aurum cum  
 vivo argento super testam ponendum est testa siue lenigata vel pla-  
 nissima. sine asperitate. sine cavernulis. Que super carbones leues  
 & lentissimos ponenda est. Sed hic opus est summa diligentia.  
 Nam si parum acriori calore aurum torreatur. mox calefcit. ita igne  
 vivum argentum torrendo non effundatur. Sal ergo tritum & ustum  
 subtilissimum auro miscendum est. ut pariter sine intermissione con-  
 teratur & spargatur. Et hoc fiat spargendo & conterendo. terendo  
 & spargendo. donec vivum argentum euanescat super fumum. Quod  
 tamen totum suscipitur suspensa scutella desuper adipe inuncta. Tunc  
 postea pulvis auri in bacinis lauatur diligenter. Sicut minium lauari  
 solet.

solet. excepto quod aurum sua dignitate tractandum est. Tunc pulvis lauatus & siccatus est & in glutine ponitur. Gluten autem de uitulina carta erit. Quod in testudine tenui positum. semper super aquam calidam erit, ut gluten sit solutum. Tunc penna intincta scribetur.

*Item quomodo scribitur de auro.* Accipe massam auri & delicatissime cum lima ferrea limabis & pones in vase vitreo cum aqua. deinde tolles & super marmorem porfiriticum tere. Accipiesque duas partes falsa gemme & modicum sulfuris crocei. & misces cum auro. tamdiuque teres. quousque totum sit dissolutum. Tollesque & mittens in vase uno. abluesque in quarto vel quinto vasis diligenter de uno in alterum. Quando vero optime lotum fuerit. mittes in cornu eius. Distemperaturam que eum distemperabit cum de eo scribere volueris. sic facies. Gummam arabicam cum aqua in vase vitreo distemperabis. ponesque ad solem ut liquefiat. Liquefactam misces cum ea acetum tantum quantum sit aqua. Si non habes acetum de optimo vino misces. & iterum pones ad solem siccare. bulliesque aqua ad ignem in patellam. accipiesque moniaculum & pones in aqua & statim liquefiat. natabitque desuper suscipiesque illud & misces cum arabica. mouebisque eas insimiliter. reponesque in vase optimo ad seruandum. quanto tempore volueris & hec erit distemperatura ad scribendum de auro. Igitur quando de auro scribere volueris. pone aurum molutum in paruissima patella. ad hoc opus de auricalco facta & mitte super carbones. ut fulgorem modice recipiat. Tunc pones in cornu ut dictum est acciesque de cotho parumper & misces cum auro. in cornuque miscebis quociens de eo scribere volueris. Cum autem scripseris de eo. dimitte siccare & de emate polies. Hoc solummodo de auro & auricalco poteris facere.

*Item de eadem.* Aurum vel argentum vel cuprum aut auricalcum cum cote teritur & scipho excipitur vel bacino. que tante lauatur quod melius cum aqua interdum proiicitur. & . . . . ipsa aqua frequencius

in



in diuersis vasis recipitur. Postea procurato lueidissimo ex pergamenis glutine in ypogeis. aut in occultis locis conuenit scribere. deinde limpidissima petra vel onichino aut emate vel simili re conuenit scripturam detergere quod sic & soliditatem accipit & fulgorem vel colorem.

*De eadem arte sicut supra.* Argentum aut cuprum vel auricalcum tere super marmorem cum felle taurino & modico sale spisso. Quando scribere volueris cum supradicta distemperatura scribe & burni vel dente vel petra.

*Iterum.* Si vis scribere de auro accipe puluerem auri & distempera cum glutine ipsius perchameni. in quo debes scribere & ad ignem de ipso auro cum glutine scribe. & quando littera sicca fuerit. burni de planissima petra aut de dente apri.

*Item ad idem.* Tolle vivum argentum & misce cum auro & terens bene mitte in caliculum. & pone ad ignem donec vivum argentum siccetur & remaneat aurum quod mittens in mortariolo marmareo. cum pistello aereo teres donec pulvis fiat. Deinde tolles crocum & teres in unum. Si enim una fuerit auri. croci solidi sint duo. Mittes in aquam. decoquant similiter. Similiter mittes in compositione eius aquam de gummi. teres diligenter postea mitte in ampullam & suspende ad solem & tollens de sole. que volueris scribere. Similiter argentum & eramentum compones.

*De eadem arte.* Sume Stagnum & conflu cum argento vivo & mitte ut refrigeret & tere in mortariolo. cum alumine Scissili & locio pueri. fiet inde liquidum & cum fecerit atramenti scriptoris pinguedinem scribe ex eo. Cumque siccatum fuerit separatim teres crocum cum glutino puro. Scribe ex eo que iam scripseras & siccatum dente frica.

*Sicut dixi.* Sanguine draconis intinge aurum & pone in ereo vase & circumda foris carbonibus. & statim soluitur. & in tantum erit liquidum. ut ex eo possis scribere.

*Adhuc*

*Adhuc audi.* Tolle aurum & fac tenue. postea incide minutatim & tolle duodecim partes argenti vivi & misce cum eo in vasculo ligneo. & tamdiu misce cum digito. donec fiat totum argentei coloris. Postea mitte in concula & in prunas leniter calefac. cum fabricio folle. Tunc habeas ferrum bene politum & misce cum eo. usque dum summitas illius ferri habeat aureum colorem. Hoc autem facto proice illud in aquam frigidam. tunc tractum de aqua pone super lapidem porfirii & commisce sulphur & tamdiu tere cum lapide porfirii. donec aurum & sulphur veniant ad nigrum colorem & iterum pone in concula super calidum cinerem & tum dimitte donec aurei coloris efficiatur & sic pone in aliud vas & diligenter laua. donec omnis immundicia recedat & utere.

*Item.* Aurum obrizum & bene coctum lima lima tenui & in mortare marmoreo mittes & adicies acetum acerrimum & teres pariter & lauabis tamdiu quamdiu nigrum fuerit & effundes. Tum demum mittes aut salis granum. aut affronitum. & sic soluetur. & scribes. Postea litteras polito. Similiter omnia metalla solvuntur.

*Item.* Plumbum conla & frequenter tinge in aqua. & tunc conla aurum & restingue in predicta aqua & fit fragile. Limatum teres diligenter aurum cum argento vivo & purgabis diligenter & misces gummam liquidam cum eo & scribes. Antea autem in alumine liquido tinges calamum. Quod alumen cum sale & aceto optimo purgabis.

*Item.* Sumes laminas argenteas vel aureas & teres in mortariolo aureo cum sale greco. vel nitro (vitro) donec non compareat. deinde mittes in aquam & ablues. & iterum mitte sal & ablue similiter. & ut purum remanserit. adicies eris florem modicum & fel taurinum & conteres pariter & scribes. Postea poli litteras. Si vero vis ut diffusum sit & habundancius literas scribere. separatim auripigmenti. IV. partes scindes & cledri partem unam mittes & tribulas & misces in tantum quantum sit equale auro. & teres pariter & scribes. & cum siccauerit

siccauerit poli. Ex hoc autem & in muro & in marmore potes pulcre pingere. Huc usque de solucione auri & argenti & aliorum metallorum quamvis multa sint alia documenta vel dicta. Sed ad unum intellectum redeunt.

*Incipit liber Eraclii sapientissimi viri de  
coloribus & de artibus Romanorum.*

ERACLIVS





E R A C L I V S

D E

COLORIBUS ET ARTIBUS

R O M A N O R U M.

O 2

CLASSIS

DE

COLORIBUS ET ARTIBUS

ROMANORUM

20



# ERACLIIVS

## COLORIBUS ET ARTIBUS, &c.

*Incipit Liber Eraclii sapientissimi Viri de coloribus & de artibus Romanorum.*

**U**T potui leuius varios tibi frater ad usus  
 Descripsi flores. adieci floribus artes  
 Congrua scripturis quæ sunt & idone scriptis  
 Quæ si perpendis. utendo vera probabis.  
 Nil tibi scribo quidem. quæ non prius ipse probassem  
 Iam decus ingenii quæ plebs Romana probatur  
 Decidit. ut periit sapientum cura senatum.  
 Quis nunc has artes investigare valebit :  
 Quas isti artifices immensa mercede potentes.  
 Invenere sibi potens est ostendere nobis ?  
 Qui tenet ingenii claves virtute potenti ?  
 In varias artes refecat pia corda virorum

### *De floribus ad scribendum.*

Flores in varios qui vult mutare colores  
 Causa scribendi quos libri pagina possit.  
 Est opus ut segetes in summo mane pererret.  
 Et inter diversos flores ortuque recentes.  
 Inveniet properetque decerpere eosdem.  
 Cumque domum fuerit. caveat ne ponat in unum :  
 Illos sed faciat quæ talis res sibi querit.

Desuper

Desuper equalem petram contriveris istos  
 Flores. Incoctum pariter tu contere gipsum.  
 Sic tibi siccatos poteris servare colores.  
 Ex quibus in viridem. si vis mutare colorem.  
 Calcem commisce cum floribus. inde videbis  
 Quod tibi mandaui? verum velut ipse probaui.

*De preciosa pictura vitri.*

E vitro si quis depingere vascula querit  
 Eligat ipse duas rufo de marmore petras  
 Inter quas vitrum Romanum conteret. et cum  
 Ut pulvis terræ fuerit pariter resolutum.  
 Hoc faciet liquidum. clara pinguedine gummi.  
 Post hæc depingat petulas quas finxit honeste  
 Figulus. Hoc facto succensæ imponat easdem.  
 Fornaci. caveatque simul quæ terra probata  
 Has teneat. quo sic valeat obflare colori.  
 Illas. qui facies plena virtute nitentes.

*De sculptura vitri.*

O vos artifices qui sculpere vultis honeste  
 Vitrum nunc vobis pandam velut ipse probaui  
 Vermes quæsi pingues quos vertit aratrum  
 E terra. atque simul iussit me quærere acetum  
 Utilis ars istis rebus, calidumque cruorem?  
 Ex hirco ingenti, quem follers tempore parvo  
 Ex herba forti paui. tecto religatum.  
 Sanguine cum calido. post hæc vermes et acetum.  
 Infudi. ac totam fialam clare renitentem  
 Unxi. quo facto temptavi sculpere vitrum?  
 Cum duro lapide piritis nomine dicto.

*De fialis auro decoratis.*

Romani fialas auro caute variatas  
Ex vitro fecere sibi. nimium preciosas  
Erga quas, gessi cum summa mente laborem.  
Atque oculos cordis super has noctuque dieque  
Intentos habui. quo sic attingere possem  
Hanc artem per quam fialæ valde renitebant  
Tandem perfixi Tibi quod Karissime pandam.  
Inveni petulas inter vitrum duplicatum  
Inclusas caute. Cum follers sepius illud  
Visu lustrassem. super hoc magis & magis ipse  
Commotus. quasdam claro vitro renitentes  
Quæsi fialas mihi. quas pinguedine gummi  
Unxi pincello. Quo facto ex auro imponere cepi  
Ex auro petulas super illas. utque fuere  
Siccatae volucres homines pariterque leones  
Inscripsi ut sensi. quo facto desuper ipsas  
Armaui vitrum docto flatu tenuatum  
Ignis. Sed postquam pariter sensere calorem  
Se vitrum fialæ tenuatum iunxit honeste.

*De preciosorum lapidum incisione.*

Qui cupit egregios lapides irrumpere ferro  
Quos dilexerunt nimium reges super aurum  
Urbis Romanæ. qui celsas iam tenuere  
Artes. ingenium quod ego sub mente profunda  
Inveni accipiat quoniam valde preciosum  
Uriciam mihi quæsi pariterque cruorem  
Ex hirco ingenti. modico sub tempore pasto  
Herba. quo facto calefacto sanguine gemmas

Incidi



Incidi veluti monstrante plinius auctor  
 Artes qui scripsit, quas plebs Romana probavit  
 Atque simul lapidum virtutes scripsit honeste  
 Quorum qui nescit vires minus diligit illos  
 Nam primi reges urbem qui iam tenuere  
 Gemmis ornarunt vestes auro renitentes  
 Ex quibus insignis primus fuit Aurelianus  
 Qui proprias vestes gemmis contexit & auro.

*De aurea scriptura.*

Scripturam pulcram quisquis bene scribere querit  
 Ex auro. legat hic quæ vili carmine dico.  
 Aurum cum puro molat usque solutum  
 Nimium fuerit. tunc sepius abluat illud  
 Namque deposcit hoc candens pagina libri.  
 Exin taurini faciet pinguedine gummi  
 Atque rogo pariter calamo cum ceperit aurum.  
 Illud commoveat. Pulcre si scribere querit.  
 Hinc siccata sicut fuerit scriptura. nitentem.  
 Hanc nimium faciat urfi cum dente feroci.

*De edera & lacca.*

Propositis rebus edere satis utile robur.  
 Huius ut frondem nimium coluere priores  
 Ad titulum laudis. erat ipsa corona poetis.  
 Vere novo reduci congaudet omnia succo  
 Arboribusque refert humor. quas bruma negabat  
 Crescendi vires. ederam talis probat ordo.  
 Nam subula rami loca per deserti forati.  
 Emittunt viscum. quem qui sibi sumpserit illum  
 Transferet in rubeam coctum. rigine formam

Sanguineumque sibi leviter capit ille colorem.  
Hunc sibi pictor amat & scriptor diligit eque.  
Hinc etiam roseo fit parcia tincta colore  
Quam quoque caprinas quam pelles tingit ovinas.

*De petula auri quomodo in ebore mittatur*

Sculpturas eboris auri petulis decorabis.  
Quo tamen ipsa res ordine congruat audi.  
Quere tibi pis ————— liquentem  
Vesicam tamen serva cum flumine coctam  
Inde locum petulam cui vis componere signa.  
Sic ebori facile poteris ipsam consolidare.

*De Gemmis quomodo luceant.*

Si vis splendentem gemmis inferre colorem  
Partem quare tibi tantummodo marmoris equi  
Hinc ne laedatur. tactu levior limetur  
Gemma superposito. sed petre lumine tracto  
Quanto durescit. tanto magis ipsa accescit.

*De viridi colore ad scribendum.*

Si quaeris viridi scripta colore notari  
Acri commissum melli miscebis acetum.  
Hinc valde calido vas ipsum contege fimo  
Sic & bisseis hoc extrahe talibus actis.

*Quomodo cristallum possit secari.*

Cristallum tali facile valet arte secari  
Oportuna tibi quaeratur lamina ferri.  
Hinc etiam binae claves iungantur utrinque.  
Ex ferro medium. quae firmant undique plumbum  
Nam plumbo solo tribuetur cura secandi.

Ipsi custodes laminæ sint exteriores  
 Vt sibi dent rectum recto conamine cursum.  
 Sed nec duriciam poteris prorumpere tantam  
 Mollicie plumbi. nec quiddam iunxeris illi  
 Tamquam pulverulas fornacis fragmine micas  
 Contere. quas tenerae poteris connectere laminæ  
 Haec etenim plumbum coniunctio reddet acutum  
 Et quum rursus habent lateris fragmenta vigorem  
 Sed vim cristalli. — cruor antea temperet hirci.

*De temperamento ferri.*

Qui quæret solido lapides incidere ferro  
 Hos habeat ritus, ut acumen temperet huius.  
 Tempore quo solito magis uritur hircus amore  
 Solus adeps huius fit ad istos aptior usus.  
 Huius enim calidum si quis pinguedine ferrum  
 Restinguet. subito durefcit acumine firmo.

*De Gemmis quas de Romano vitro facere quæris.*

Sic ex Romano poteris conficere vitro  
 Splendentes pulcros generis cuiusque lapillos.  
 Ad modulum lapidis cretam tibi quippe cavabis.  
 Hic pones vitrum per quædam frustra minutum.  
 Hunc ergo facile poteris hac arte parare  
 Subtiliter quædam circumvoluatur arundo  
 Qui dum durefcit. cum virga firmius heret.  
 Tunc ipsi virgæ superimponetur utrinque  
 Et circumposito teneatur virgula vitro  
 Atque cavo testam penitus inferere cretam  
 Igni sit vitrum cum sit penitus liquefactum  
 In fossam lato fulgenti comprime ferro.  
 Quo vesica sibi. quo lesio nulla superfit.

*Incipit*



*Incipit lib. 11. de colore auripigmento simili.*

Sic facile similem poteris servare colorem  
 Auripigmento memori tu mente teneto.  
 Hinc piscis magni fel multum congruit arti.  
 Marmorea cuius petra liquor excipiat.  
 Cui vetus & paucum tum admiscebis acetum  
 Fellis & hinc albam tum cum pinguedine cretam  
 Reddet splendentem commixtio tanta liquorem.

*De cupro fellis pinguedine deaurato.*

Si velut auratum fellis pinguedine cuprum  
 Condere curabis. Sic hoc implere valebis.  
 Cultello rasum splendens hoc effice tactum  
 Vrsi dente. quidem calamo penitus sperge liquorem  
 Fellis & hoc eque tamen apponatur ubique  
 Appones alium penitus equo tramite. rursum  
 Huic alium iunges. vice tamen undique duces  
 Equali calamum ne qua divisio cuprum  
 Ne quis monticulus vel ne tumor efferat ullus.

*De viridi colore quomodo fieri possit ad quae volueris depingere.*

Sic poteris viridem tibi pictor habere colorem  
 Cum foliis albam morellam contere cretam  
 Haec in marmorea pariter quoque contere petra  
 Vfus ad pennæ liquidum dum fiat utrinque.  
 Et penitus hunc succum pincello fume probandum  
 Hinc quascunque cupis scripturas cõde coloribus  
 Ne cretae nimium ponas tamen ante caveto.

*De vitro viridi quomodo fieri debeat ad vasa fictilia pingenda.*

His rebus vitri patet effectus preciosi  
 Igni combustum sulphur quaerasque cupellum

Atque teras horum splendens cum pulvere vitrum.  
 Hoc cures solo liquidum tibi reddere gummo.  
 Attamen inde licam penitus ignibus iniice coctam  
 Assumet viridem qualem pictura colorem  
 Exterior testæ cum ceperit ipsa rubere.

*De vitro albo ad vasa fictilia depingenda.*

Album picturis sic vitrum attenuabit  
 Candens permixtum cum sulphure contere vitrum  
 His simul attritis penitusque fuerint quasi pulvis  
 Exterior spissam depinges undique testam  
 Iniice post ipsam fornacis ab igne coquendam.  
 Quam simul ipsa rubet. sibi cum pictura coheret  
 Extrahe. Sic etiam pinges hinc vascula quaedam  
 Ars velut in primo notat insinuata libello.

*De vitro nigro ad vasa fictilia depingenda.*

Sic etiam nigrum pingendi transfer in usum  
 Qui terra capitur cum gummi contere lazur  
 Et sic perspicuum frangens in marmore vitrum  
 Ipsi miscebis. rursusque terendo parabis  
 Haec quoque ceruleum sumet commixtio formam.  
 Quam tamen in nigrum vertetur insignia vitrum.

*De vitro quod nimium vires.*

Sic etiam nimium tu vires effice vitrum  
 Accipies assi subtilia fragmina cupri  
 Quae tamen eiusdem penitus cum rubigine misces.  
 Rursus & admixto splendenti contere vitro  
 Protinus hic pictam fornacibus iniice flammam  
 Postquam lucentem dabit ipsi flamma colorem  
 Accipe. nam puleram capiet nisi frigida formam.  
 Nam dum fit vitrum nimio fervore vaporis  
 Huic aufert propria flammæ uolencia formam.

*De vasis testeis pingendis.* Viridis vitri & usti fulminis pulverem item usti cupri accipe & cum claro misce vitro. prius bene super marmoream petram trito. Si ex eo testam ornare volueris, cum gummi liquore supradicto temperes & pincello testam ex hic intinges. & in fornacem pones ut tantum rubea appareat. Refrigerata vitri viridis repraesentabit colorem.

*Item ut supra.* Album vitrum si facere vis ad usum pingendi calidum sulphur cum vitro albo diligenter tere & super spissam testam pone & in fornacem mitte. Cum autem glutinatum fuerit extrahe ab igne & si ex eo scutellas arte figuli factas vis depingere illud contere ad usum scripturae qualiter ante dictum est de viridi vitro.

*Quomodo vasa signat plumbeantur.* Accipe terram figulorum quantumvis fortem poteris invenire & in furno cum aliis vasis ubi tantum lento igne coques vel in alio igne quo usque tota sit rubea. Quando frigida fuerit mitte eam in quodam vase & tam diu tere quo usque tota sit quasi pulvis. Deinde accipe aquam & misce cum ea & in alio vase cola & usque ad alium diem sic eam dimittes. Postea illam aquam proiicies foras. Deinde accipe illas feces & cum alia terra quae sine sabulo est misces cum duabus partibus illius fortissimae terrae supradictae. Postea tere eam cum malleo. Deinde quaecunque vas volueris facies. Postea accipe illam (*fortissimam terram*) fecem quam sivist quiescere & cum oleo misces & illud vas quod fecisti ante quam coquatur per totum lines. Deinde pones eum in secreto loco quoadusque totum siccetur & ne ventus ei contrarius sit. Si vero eum plumbeum facere volueris. accipias farinam de frumento & in ollam bullire eam facies & refrigerari permittes & de ipsa aqua eam per totum in circuitu lines. Postea accipe plumbum bene solutum. Si tamen viride eum volueris facere accipe cuprum vel auricalcum quod melius est & cum plumbo misce sic. Accipe plumbum & in vase eum optime funde. Quando totum lique-



quefactum fuerit circumvolve manibus tuis illud in vas usque dum pulvis fiat & . . VI. partes auricalci limaturae cum eo mices. Cum vas illud de aqua farinae humefactum fuerit statim pulverabis de plumbo. Si vero vis ut croceus sit de puro plumbo & sine limatura pulverabis. Deinde in maiori vase intus vas illud repone & in furno mitte ut sit plus splendidum & pulcrum. lento tamen igni. ut non nimis fortiter nec minus flebis.

*Item.* Rubiginem vitri & pulverem eiusdem cum vitro claro tere & postea testam ut supra pinges, & in fornacem valde succensam mitte. Deinde a fornace abstrahe & preciosum habebis colorem.

*Quomodo & quando inventum fuerit vitrum.* Vitrum dictum ut ait ysidorus quod visui perspecutitate transluceat. In aliis enim metallis quicquid intrinsecus continetur absconditur. In vitro quilibet liquor vel species quaelibet interius taliter exterius declaratur & quodam modo clarius patet . . . . . Cuius origo haec fuit. In parte Syriae quae Fenicis vocatur, finitima iudeae circa radicem montis Carmeli palus est, ex qua nascitur Belus rivus, V. millium passuum spatio in mare fluens, iuxta Tholomaidam, cuius arenae decrescente fluctu sordibus eluuntur. Hic fama est pulsa naue mercatorum nitri cum sparsius per litos epulas pararent, nec essent pro attollendis vasis lapides. glebas nitri vasi subdiderunt. Quibus accensis permixta arena littoris translucentis novi liquoris fluxisse rivos, & hanc fuisse originem vitri. Mox ut est ingeniosa sollertia non fuit contenta solo vitro sed & aliis mixturis hanc artem studuit. nam aridis lignis concoquitur adiecto cipro ac nitro continuisque fornacibus ut aes liquatur, massaeque fiunt. Postea ex massis rursus funditur in officinis, & aliud flatu figuratur, aliud torno teritur, aliud argenti modo celatur. Tingitur etiam multis modis ita ut iacinctos saphirosque virides imitetur & onichinos & aliarum gemmarum colores. Neque est alia speculis aptior materia

materia vel picturae accommodatior. Maximus tamen in candido vitro proximaque in cristalli similitudine. Vnde & ad potandum argenti metalla & auri repulit. Vitrum olim fiebat & in Italia & per Gallias & in Hispania. Arena alba mollissima pila molaque terebatur. Dehinc miscebatur tribus partibus nitri pondere vel mensura ac liquata in alias fornaces transfundebatur. Quae Massa vocabatur admovitrius atque haec recocta fiebat vitrum purum & candidum. In genere vitri & obsianus lapis adnumeratur. Est autem virens interdum & niger. aliquando & translucidus crassiore visu & in speculis parietum pro imagine umbras reddente. Gemmas multi ex eo faciunt. Hunc lapidem & in India & in Italia & ad Oceanum in Hispania nasci tradunt.

*De Artifice.* Fertur autem sub Tiberio Cesare quendam artificem ex-cogitasse vitri temperamentum ut flexibile esset et ductile. Qui dum admissus esset ad Cesarem. porrexit fialam Cesari, quam ille indignatus in pavimento proiecit, quæ complicaverat se tanquam vas æneum. Artifex autem sustulit fialam de pavimento, deinde martulum de sinu protulit & fialam correxit. Hoc facto Cesar dixit artifice numquid alius scit hanc condituram vitrorum? Postquam ille iurans negavit alterum hoc scire iussit illum Cesar decollari ne dum hoc cognitum fieret aurum pro luto haberetur. & omnium metallorum precia abstraherentur. Et revera quod si vasa vitrea non frangerentur meliora essent quam aurum & argentum.

*Quomodo efficitur vitrum.* Vitrum efficitur de cineribus & de filicis & de faina aut de parvulis arboribus quæ sunt vel crescunt in sylvis. Accipitur autem filix ante festum S. Johannis Baptistae & optime siccatur. deinde ad ignem mittitur & fit cinis. Similiter & faina efficitur cinis per ignem. Accipies itaque duas partes de filice & terciam partem de faina & simul mices. Deinde facies furnum de petris argilla linitis mixta de stercore iumentorum. Fundamentum eius altitudine dimidii cubiti totum planum facies profundum

profundum furni dimittes sine maceria & in medio furni nihil facies quod in medio eius ignis quando operatur semper faciendus est. Super fundamentum furni incipies facere tres mansiunculas, quæ archæ nominantur in quibus erunt fenestrellæ. Mediam archam magnam facies in qua duæ fenestrae erunt, una ex parte una & alia ex parte altera. In istam archam intus ante os archæ duas ollas optime coctas quas mortariola vocant in quibus cinis siue arena ut dicetur funditur & vitrum efficitur. Alias autem archas facies unam a dextris mediae archæ & alteram a sinistris. Illam autem quæ est a dextris minorem facies illa quæ est a sinistris. In archa sinistræ partis una die & una nocte cinerem coques. In tantum vero eum coqui facies ut similiter sit agglutinator. In hac quoque archa mortariola tua penitus coqui facies & ut firma sint & duriora ad vitrum sustinendum & coquendum ne frangantur. Quando autem cinis totus & diutissime & optime coctus fuerit tunc mittes eum in mortariolis tuis cum coclea ferrea & funde eum tamdiu donec efficiatur album. Si vero vis ut efficiatur rubeum de cinere non bene cocto sic facies. Accipe limaturam cupri & arde eam quousque pulvis sit & mitte illum in mortariolis & erit vitrum rubeum, quem Galienum vocamus. Viride vero vitrum ita facies. De eodem pulvere in mortariolo pones quantum tibi visum fuerit. & movebis & erit viride. Croceum quoque vitrum sic efficitur. Cinerem crudum accipies & mittes in mortariolo & fundes eum, proiciensque modicum sabuli intus cum eo & parum ni fallor de pulvere cupri & movebis simul & efficietur croceum vitrum quod nos cerasin vocamus. Purpureum & membranaceum aliter efficiuntur de cinere arboris fagi & sicut cinis albus ita coquitur & mittitur in olla & tamdiu funditur bulliendo quousque vertatur in colorem purpureum. Dum bullit sepe movebis sicut & aliud vitrum, sicut supra docuimus. Quando videris eum verti in purpureum colorem illico tolle quantum vis & fac opus quod volueris usque dum videris eum mutari



tari in pallorem. De colore pallido mutatur in aliud quod membrun vocatur. Quando vero vasa vel tabulas facere volueris habebis virgas ferreas intus cavatas longitudine unius cubiti aut plus vel minus & in summitate virgae parvulum lignum intus cavum, habens unum foramen parvissimum per quod sufflabis quando operari volueris aliquod vas & quando de vitro operari incipies accipies virgam unam & in mortariolo si bene purgatus vel fusus fuerit cinis aspicies. Tunc mittes virgam in mortariolo attrahesque modicum vitri quasi parumper pastaë & circumduces manu tua in girum & formabis quod tibi placuerit super marmorem ferri qui positus est iuxta os furni. Nam ibi facies obstaculum quadam macerie ne ab igne consumeris. in quo pones tabulam ferri quae marmor vocatur. super quam formabis vitrum quando operaberis, & facies quaecunque vas placuerit tibi. Facto autem vase vel cippo vel scutella vel fiala mittes in archa quae est in sinistra parte furni ut ibi temperetur donec refrigescat. Tabulas autem vitri quando volueris extendere & planas facere. recalefacies in furnum . . . tendes in fenestra parva quae explanaria vocatur quae est iuxta sinistram partem archae. Explanata vero repones eam in parvum furnum ad hoc opus factum & ibi dimittes donec omnino sit frigida. Carbones autem vivi erunt in furno praeparati, qui quanto extinguitur tanto plus refrigescit vitrum.

*Quomodo efficitur de plumbo.* Accipe plumbum optimum & nitidum & pone in ollam novam & arde in ignem usque pulvis sit. Deinde tolle eam ab igne ut refrigeretur. Postea sabulum fume & misce cum pulvere illo, ita tamen ut duae partes sint de plumbo & tertia de sabulo, ponesque in testeo vase. Facies vero sicut supra scriptum est ad vitrum faciendum & illud vas testeeum pones in furnum & semper movebis usque dum vitrum efficiatur. Si vero ut videatur virideum facere cupis, accipe limaturam auricalci & intus cum plumbeo vitro quantum tibi visum fuerit pone.

Q

Denique

Denique si aliquod facere vas volueris cum fistula ferrea facies. Post haec vas illud cum vitro tolle & refrigerari sine. De isto vitro plumbeo poteris si vis cum gallino saphireo miscere ad pingendum in vitro apposita tertia parte de scoria ferri. Et haec pictura in marmore ferreo est terenda.

*Quomodo inciditur vitrum.* Cum acri urtica ubera caprae urticantur & palmis tenduntur ut in eis lac descendat. Postea lac mulgetur in vas & in eo per unam noctem vitrum cum ferro ponatur cum quo debet incidi. At vero cum necesse fuerit recalefiat cum eadem calitudine, qua fuit prius mulsu & in eo semper vitrum calefiat. & sic incidatur. Sic & alii lapides.

*Quomodo sculpuntur lapides.* Sume hircum qui nunquam coierit & pone in cupam per tres dies. Posthaec purgabis dolium ut accipias urinam eius. Posthoc occides vel incidēs hircum & sanguinem eius urinae miscebis & sic lapidem impone per unam noctem & posthaec vel comprime in figuram vel sculpes si vis ut pulcrum facias. Fac tibi tabulam plumbeam & super hanc asperges album silicem contritum ut piper & lapidem desuper fricabis quousque asperitatem lenieris. Postea liga de eodem silice contrito in laneo panno & inde fricabis angulos quos aptare nequisti in lamina. Deinde ut pristinam lucem recipiat fac tibi oleum de nucibus & inde fricabis. Adhuc debes eum linire panno cerato ut splendeat & fudore deficiat.

*Quomodo incidatur cristallum.* Accipe cristallum & involue in panno lineo intincto in sudore caprae & cum ipso panno in fimo bouis involue & sic cum cultro incide ut volueris & tamen caute. Posteaquam feceris mitte in aquam frigidam. Dehinc lica cum lamina plumbea & farina vel furfure.

*Quomodo politur lapis.* Sume lapidem qui dicitur emantes qui non sit nimis durus, neque venatus sed admodum planus & clarissimus & vade ad molam fabri & ut volueris planum facies. Cum tibi visum fuerit

fuerit satisfactum inde super tegulam leuius planabis. postea iterum ut dulcius fiat cum cote. Deinde super tabulam plumbeam ut poliatur. Hinc iterum super corium vaccae illa parte vel qua pilosum fuit, quod planissimum & mundum sit volo, super qua iterum melius polies. Posthoc super lignum quod tremulum vocatur optime & multum planatum polies iterum.

*Dentem vero bestiarum* poteris hoc modo polire; non tantum dentem sed & aurum quocunque posueris eum sive in ligno sive in muro, vel etiam in perchameno.

*De Deauratura.* Deauratura efficitur de vivo argento & stagno ita ut tres partes sint de vivo argento & quarta de stagno. Sume laminam stagni & vernicia illam duabus vel tribus vicibus multum tenuiter. & dimitte ficcare. Postea accipe fuliginem & cervisiam & misce similiter. Postea cola. Deinde pones super carbones. Cumque aliquantulum bullierit tunc in patella cum fuligine & cervisia mitte & cum videris satisfactum abstrahe de hoc calore & plena aqua frigida in scutella mitte. & tunc tibi non videbitur bonum. Postea cum eum tuleris velut aurum videbis.

*Deauratura quomodo fit.* De argento vivo VII. & unam de auro accipies & misces simul. Deinde in scutella vel cippo vel in bacino mitte & de aqua ablue & deaura quod volueris. Per pannum accidum argentum vivum proiicies. foras & remanebit aurum & in vase pones. Sicque servare poteris. Quando vero deaurare volueris iterum cum argento vivo misces & ablues.

*Quomodo deauratur vel aurum vel argentum.* Accipe fuliginem & purum sal. Tere fortiter. accipiesque glaream oui & distemperabis. Deinde linies aurum vel argentum vel cuprum vel aliud quod volueris deaurare & ibi ubi volueris interim deaurare illam distemperaturam suppones & super carbones mittes. cum fuerit siccatum deaurabis. ubi non fuerit positum. & quando deauratum fuerit. ablues distemperaturam & burnies.



*Quomodo deauratur oricalcum.* De atramento tres partes & salis unam partem accipies & cum eis misces. & infimiliter tertium teres. Postea accipe pannum nitidum & intinges in atramentum & auricalcum fortiter fricabis. Deinde mitte in ignem quousque totum rubrum fiat. Postea retrahe ab igne & sine refrigerari. Tunc poteris deaurare sicut aurum vel cuprum.

*Quomodo ferrum deauratur.* Aeris limatura teratur cum aceto in mortario aereo. & cum sale & alumine usque ad mellis spissitudinem. Aliqui pro aceto aqua utuntur. Deinde ferrum multum purgatum & leviter calefactum hac mixtura inungitur & fricatur. donec colorem aeris accipiat. Posthac abluta aqua & tergitur & sicut aurum & argentum deauratur & calefactum recedendo vivo argento sicut mos est ut splendorem accipiat ferro defricatur.

*Aliter.* Glumen rotundum & salvandum quod sal Gemma vocatur & calcanthum ex aceto acerrimo teruntur in aereo mortario. Ex his ferrum purgatum. cum ferula & leui qualibet hattula defricatur. & cum aeris habuerit colorem detergitur & deauratur. Deinde exfumigato vivo argento aqua refrigeratur & usque ad splendorem ferro valde plano & limpido defricatur.

*Quod si volueris ebur dirigere & ornare,* in hac supradicta confectioe mittatur III. diebus & tribus noctibus. Hoc facto cavabis lignum. qualimodo volueris. Deinde posito ebore in cavitura diriges illud & plicabis ad placitum. Tabula cupri quae decem pollices habet in latitudine & totidem in longitudine. denario auri decorari potest.

*Quomodo recuperatur deauratura.* Si aliquod vas habueris deauratum & per negligentiam deauraturam perdiderit accipe atramentum & sal cum eo benetritum & lini illud vas. Postea pone ad ignem seccare & iterum linies, & ad ignem pones. Hoc facies tribus. & quatuor vicibus & recuperabit pristinum colorem quem perdiderat.

*Quomodo vernicietur aurum ne perdat colorem.* Si aurum super gypsum positum verniciare volueris. circumde (conde) puro uernicio. sed de illo

illo colore qui efficitur ad aurum petrum faciendum. mixto unde cum oleo modico uernicio. ne nimis sit spissum. uernicieter super aurum. Ideo si aliqui gipsei coloris apparuerunt hoc colore operiri poterit. Imagines vero & alios colores de puro uernicio vel de crasso oleo poteris uerniciare.

*Quomodo poteris solidare aurum vel argentum vel auricaculum.* Accipe tres partes de auricalco & tres partes de stagno & funde simul in conca ad ignem. pulveremque facias & in buttam recondes. Postea accipe paramentum tres partes & quasi atramentum in testeo vase arde in igne. Accipiesque sal & super carbones optime siccabis. Deinde paramentum & sal macerabis simul cum vino. Cum vero auricalcum vel cuprum solidare volueris. pones super auricalcum vel cuprum de ista confectione & de sale & temperamento facta ubi volueris solidare. Statimque de pulvere supradicta desuper pones & ad ignem calefacies, & firmiter solidabitur.

*De probatione auri & argenti.* Omne purum aurum cuiuslibet ponderis omni argento similiter puro eiusdem tamen ponderis densius est parte sui vicesima. Quod ita probari potest. Si purissimi auri libra cum equo puri argenti simili pondere sub aqua conferatur in statera XII. denariis & vicesima sui parte aurum gravius argento. vel argentum levius auro invenietur. Quapropter si inveneris opus aliquod auro formatum cui argentum permixtum esse videatur. scire volueris quantum auri quantumque in eo contineatur argenti, fume argentum sive aurum & examinato supradicti operis pondere. nec minus pensantem massam de utrius metallo fabricato, atque utraque & opus & massam staterae lancibus imposito aquisque immergito. Si argentea fuerit massa quam fecisti, opus preponderabit. Si aurea fuerit alleviato opere aurum inclinabitur. Hoc tamen ita fiet ut quot partibus inclinatur aurum totidem partibus sublevatur argentum. quod quicquid in ipso opere fuerit sub aquis praeter solitum pondus ad aurum propter densitatem pertinet. Quicquid autem levitatis, ad argentum propter raritatem est

est referendum. Et ut facilius possit aduerti, considerare debes tam in grauitate auri quam in leuitate argenti X. denarios significare libram. Sicut in prima lectionis huius fronte prefixum est.

*Quomodo aptetur lignum antequam pingatur.* Quicumque aliquod lignum ornare diversis coloribus satagis audi quae dico. Imprimis ipsum lignum multum rade equalem & planissimum radendo & ad ultimum fricando cum illa herba quae dicitur asperella. Quod si ligni materies talis fuerit ut non possis equare eius asperitates vel non velis propter aliquas occasiones. nec tamen cum corio illud velis operire vel panno. Album plumbum teres super petram siccum. sed non tantum quantum si inde pingere velis. Deinde ceram in vase super igne liquefacies. tegulamque tritam subtiliter. Albumque plumbum quod ante trivisti simul commisces sepius movendo cum parvo ligno & sic sine refrigerari. Postea aliquod ferrum fac calidum & cum ipso ceram funde in ipsas cavernulas donec equales sint & sic cum cultello desuper abrade ea quae sunt scabrosa. Si autem plumbum miscere cum cera dubitas. scito quod quantum plus miscueris tanto durius erit. Et sicut dixi iam equali facto. habundantius plumbum valde subtilissime tritum cum oleo desuper per totum ubicunque pingere vis tenuissime extendendo cum pincello asinino sic aptato. deinde ad solem exiccari bene permitte. At cum siccatus fuerit color iterum superpone. sicut prius fecisti de eodem & spissiore pones. sed non ita spissiore ut abundantiorum colorem superponas sed ut oleum minus habeat. Nam & in hoc multum cavendum est ut nunquam crassiorum colorem superponas. quod si feceris & abunde posueris. cum exiccari coeperit rugae desuper erunt. Nunc autem ut ea quae superius simul omnia dicam superius queso me redire permitte ubi de ligni nuditate locutus sum. Quod si lignum quod pingere vis fuerit equale corio equino vel perchameno operi illud.

*Quomodo*



*Quomodo preparatur columpna ad pingendum.* Si vis aliquam columnam vel laminam de petra pingere. inprimis optime ad solem vel ad ignem ficcari permittes. Dein album accipies & cum oleo super marmorem clarissime teres. Postea illam columpnam iam bene sine aliqua fossula planam & politam. de illo albo cum lato pincello superlinies duabus tribus vicibus. Postea imprimes cum manu vel brussa de albo spisso & ita dimittes paululum. Cum vero modicum siccatum fuerit. cum manu tua album planando fortiter retrahes. Hoc tamdiu facies donec planum sit quasi vitrum. Tunc vero poteris desuper de omnibus coloribus cum oleo distemperatis pingere. Si vero marbrire volueris. super colorem vel brunum vel nigrum vel alium colorem. cum siccata fuerunt marbrire poteris. Postea vernicia ad solem.



A P P E N D I X;

CONTAINING

A REVIEW OF THE LUMEN ANIMAE,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WORKS FROM WHICH IT IS COMPILED,

A N D

A COPY OF THE FRAGMENTS OF

THEOPHILI TRACTATUS DIVERSARUM ARTIUM.

R



A P P E N D I X

CONTAINING

A REVIEW OF THE LUMEN ANIMAL

AN ACCOUNT OF THE WORKS FROM WHICH IT IS COMPILED

AND

A LIST OF THE FRAGMENTS OF

THEOPHILI TRACTATUS DIVERSARUM ARTIUM

R

# A P P E N D I X,

## CONTAINING

### A REVIEW OF THE LUMEN ANIMAE, &c.

THE *Lumen Animae* is one of those old books, which by a happy revolution in learning are become useless to the generality of mankind; its remarkable scarcity comes from no other cause than the just neglect and contempt, in which the wiser modern philosophers, booksellers and printers have held it together with many others of the same kind, of which most part are no better than old scaffolding or monuments of the former reign of dullness. Yet historians, antiquaries, etymologists, philosophers and men of genius will now and then find some useful information in their perusal.

Whether that be a pearl lost in a dung-hill, or a root not yet observed, or a flower of fancy and genius shooting in a wilderness of weeds and thorny briars, or some link to the interrupted chain of our knowledge; no matter; it is acceptable; and such I hope will be the account of this scarce old book, which is but very imperfectly known by the most professed bibliographers. *Fabricius* seems to know it only from a quotation of Mr. *Colomies*. *Maittaire* in his typographical annals gives us only the bare titles of two different editions, said by him to have been published in 1477 and 1479, but he leaves us in the dark about its contents and those circumstances, which might have recommended it sooner to the attention of the learned. A third edition of 1482, which I have before me, was

unknown to him. He might have perused it in the Bodlejan Library at Oxford, and in the publick library of the University at Cambridge, in which I have found well preserved copies of the same. It is printed in folio with a black letter type, and begins with these words :

“ Liber moralitatum elegantissimus magnarum rerum naturalium  
 “ lumen anime dictus cum septem apparitoribus nec non sancto-  
 “ rum doctorum & orthodoxe fidei Professorum Poetarum etiam ac  
 “ oratorum auctoritatibus per modum pharetre secundum ordinem  
 “ alphabeti collectis feliciter incipit.”

At the end of the volume is a farther account, which is as follows :

“ Liber lumen anime dictus feliciter explicit. Qui post diutinam  
 “ occultationem divina cooperante gratia non sine magnis laboribus  
 “ ad laudem omnipotentis dei totiusque triumphantis ecclesie honorem &  
 “ decorem atque maiorem fructum ipsius militantis ecclesie piorum  
 “ filiorum simulque utilitatem stagnis caracteribus in lucem est productus.  
 “ Anno a nativitate domini *Millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo secunda*  
 “ sexta feria post Letare summa cum diligentia completus.”

But these two notices leave us in the dark, as well in respect to the place where it was printed, as to the author who wrote or compiled this highly extolled *Luminary of the Soul*.

By a comparison with other black-letter books of the same periods, the former, together with the name of the printer, might perhaps be ascertained ; and as to the author or compiler, he is abundantly talkative about himself in the long winded Prologus which he has prefixed to his singular performance. He modestly tells us in the most intricate entangled Monkish Latin, that, although “ the holy  
 “ mother Church was possess of the numerous volumes of Athens  
 “ and of Greece, and of those works, which the industry of the Latins  
 “ had produced, the monastick orders (*religionum veneranda professio*)  
 “ had nevertheless produced as many respectable and strong columns or  
 “ pillars of the Church militant.” Whether this be a reflexion on the  
 “ old



" old Greek or Roman authors, or on the Fathers of the Church, or  
 " whether it be intended only as a compliment to Monkish pride, it proves  
 " the writer to have been thoroughly infected with it, the more so as he  
 " immediately adds, that " by the care and labour of those strong pillars  
 " of the Church militant the present book had been produced for the use  
 " and advantage of the publick, and that by the apostolic will it had been  
 " found deserving of the name of the Luminary of the Soul." Whereby  
 he intimates no more than that he himself is one of these glorious Pillars  
 of the Church militant, not that others had compiled the work, as one  
 might be led to conclude from the passage immediately following, where  
 he says, " When this work was in an undigested state, and appeared to  
 " the simpler people to be rude and obscure, then I Friar *Matthias*  
 " *Farinator de Vyenna* of the holy order of S. Mary of Mount Carmel,  
 " yielded to the humble prayers and repeated devout entreaties of the  
 " Lecturers of Divinity, and put it with great labour under Titles, and the  
 " titles into paragraphs in that form in which it now appears." This  
 might warrant indeed a supposition, that the *Lumen Animae* was compiled  
 by others, and that *Farinator* had no other share in it than that of putting it  
 into order. But from another passage it plainly appears, " that he him-  
 " self had begun to compile it, and had dropt it, when two years after  
 " the Pope happened to see the beginning of his compilation, and upon  
 " enquiry finding, that he *Farinator* was the Author, had sent him a letter  
 " by *Raimund* Bishop of Lyons, and ordered him to Court; whereupon  
 " the Pope had given him three assistants, *Leo*, *Amund*, and *Severinus*, well  
 " skilled in several languages in order to translate some works, not yet  
 " translated into Latin; that this honourable encouragement had induced  
 " him chearfully to go to work again; and that thus compiling and di-  
 " gesting his materials he had finished the whole in about 29 years, to the  
 " great satisfaction of Pope *John* (XXII.) who had found his work de-  
 " serving of great distinction, and had ordered it to be called the *Luminary*  
 " of the Soul."

The

The various dates of this passage plainly fix the period of *Farinator* to the times of John XXII. who resided at Avignon, and occupied the See of St. Peter from 1316 to 1334, when he died in an advanced age, and in great repute of having been a very learned man, and a great encourager of learning; but that learning was such as perfectly agreed with the darkest age of Monkish impertinence, dullness and pride, which then were reduced into system and practice. Pope John's all aspiring ambition, his politicks, ever subservient to the interest of the Church, and of the Courts of France and Naples, the part he acted against that gallant and spirited Emperor of Germany, Lewis IV. of Bavaria, and the support and protection he gave to *Farinator's Luminary of the Soul* prove it in the most unquestionable manner. The extreme excess of ecclesiastical ambition, and of Monkish impertinence had indeed roused the spirit of some Sovereigns into resistance and prepared the minds of men for a happy revolution in learning, which soon after happened in Italy. *Dante* had appeared about this time. *Petrarca* and *Boccaccio* appeared soon after; but the time for a general revolution in the minds of mankind was not yet come, nor to be expected from the still prevailing influence of the Monks, and the powerful support and protection of their dull or sophistical learning, which was not calculated to instruct but to pervert and to blind the minds of mankind. *Farinator's Luminary* shews perhaps more than any other work of that kind, that *darkness visible* was their end and aim.

It consists of two parts; the first seems to have been finished with greater attention, and is divided into LXXV. Titles; the second into CCLVII. Chapters, which are as many common places in an alphabetical order, under which various passages of various authors are compiled and in the first part commented upon, not for the sake of general, useful, information, but for the purpose of Monkish declamations from the pulpit.

These *Common-Places* are visibly calculated for the same end, being taken

taken either from the chief objects of religion or from the virtues, which are generally inculcated from the pulpit. Thus

I. Title of Part I. is on the Nativity of Christ.

II. — on the Name of Christ.

III. — on the Passion of Christ.

VII. — on the blessed Virgin.

XI. — on Abstinence.

XII. — on Abjection.

XXXIII. — on Charity.

XXXIV. — on Chastity.

LVII. — on Alms.

LXXI. — on Silence.

The *fragments* of various authors compiled and placed under them are by far the most valuable part of the work ; for many of them are taken from such old authors or manuscripts, as are now-a-days either lost or absolutely neglected in the libraries ; and I shall take particular notice of them on that account.

Those from the old prophane writers are called *naturalia*, because most part of them treat of natural philosophy, and flow only from that natural light of reason and common sense, which never stood in any high repute under ecclesiastical tyranny, and amongst those who had but a small share of either.

Those from the Fathers of the Church appear generally under the more imposing name of *authorities*, for no other reason than this, that in the then prevailing opinion their sentiments, whatever they were, carried a greater weight than those of the wisest and most eloquent philosophers. It is somewhat singular that in the whole work there does not appear a single passage or quotation from St. Benedict, whereas St. Augustin, St. Bernard, Origen, Eusebius, Cyprian, and other Fathers of the Church are ransacked in every page. Was it accidental neglect ? or had the Carmelites



melites and Pope John XXII. any particular grudge against the Founder of that opulent and learned order of the Benedictines?

These passages of various authors thus compiled under the common topicks of Monkish eloquence do not properly contain any thing to the purpose of the common place under which they appear; but the idleness and fancy of *Farinator* has allegorized, moralized and commented upon them in so violent and very often so laughable a manner, that they are become the ground work of similes, which chime in with the topick under which they are placed, and that their authors would be astonished and very often highly entertained at the sense or nonsense, which *Farinator* drew from them by the powers of his allegorizing magick wand.

*Definit in piscem mulier formosa superne.*

Yet these allegorical conclusions or inferences are called *Moralities* in opposition to the *Naturalia* and *Authorities* from which they are deduced; and the little connection, which is observable between them and their premisses, is wondrously calculated to astonish the ignorant and stupid audiences, which were to be edified and entertained by them. A couple of instances will fairly prove what kind of conjuror *Farinator* was in his moralities. Part. I. Tit. II. on the name of Christ under Lit. IV. he quotes *Theophilus* in *Tractatu diversarum artium*, saying, “*Funis vel* “*zona in longum protensa semper terrae in medio sui inclinatur,* “*quantumcunque enim extrema trahantur & distendantur in medio* “*tamen instar arcus inclinatur. Per ista autem datur intelligi,* adds “*Farinator, quod Christus funi similis, &c.*” That is to say, “A “rope or chain, howsoever much stretched over the ground, constantly inclines or bends in the middle, so as to make a kind of a curve; by which “we are given to understand that Christ is like a rope or chain, &c.”

Tit. XXXIV. On chastity, Litt. F. he quotes Aristotle's *Problems*, saying, “*Animalia castrata citius & avidius impinguntur. Cuius* “*ratio est, quia in his vis seminaria vertitur in carnis substantiam.* “*Per quod datur intelligi quod corda humana castrata & castitate* “*prae-*

" praedita mox avidius impinguntur rore celesti pinguedinisque di-  
 " vinae ; that is, Geldings, or other cut animals, fatten sooner and  
 " better than others, for this reason, that the seminal powers change  
 " into flesh ; whereby we are given to understand that the hu-  
 " man heart, when castrated and chaste, sooner fattens by the heavenly  
 " dew." In Tit. XXXV, I it. D. C. Aristotle's Natural History of  
 Animals is quoted, saying, " Os in cunctis animalibus nullatenus ex-  
 " siccat. Omnium namque animalium ora seu rostra humida sunt  
 " lubrica & viscosa. Per os Confessio figuratur ; nam sicut os nulli  
 " animalium denegatur sicut dicit *Simplicius super Praedicamenta*, sic  
 " confessio nulli hominum denegatur. Et tunc applicetur sic. In  
 " nullo itaque homine exicari debet confessio & accusatio suae  
 " culpaе." That is to say, " The snout of animals is never dry ; and  
 " their noses and bills are slippery and wet." Upon this obser-  
 vation *Farinator* comments thus, " The mouth, muzzle or snout is an  
 " image of confession ; for as the muzzle ought not to be bound up  
 " in any animal according to *Simplicius in Praedicamenta*, in the same  
 " manner confession ought not to be denied to any man ; which may  
 " be applied to the purpose, that no body should abstain from con-  
 " fession, and from freely accusing his guilt." I am fully convinced  
 my readers will own with me, they never expected to meet in Aristotle  
 with so forcible an argument in favour of auricular confession ; or in a  
 Carmelite, professing chastity, with such indelicate similies, or morali-  
 ties. Yet such they are, most part of them—and if *Farinator's* ex-  
 ample could entitle me to a similar moralizing freedom, I should say,  
 that Orpheus, who sung human and social virtues into the breasts of  
 animals and savages, was a Saint ; and that Carmelites, preaching non-  
 sense into the minds of men, are the worst kind of beasts, and ought to  
 have had their snouts and muzzles tied up in order to prevent the dis-  
 graceful change of sensible men into brutes.

S

The

The last or LXXV. Title of the first Part on the Seven Waiters (apparitores) is the masterpiece of *Farinator's* moralizing and allegorizing folly. He tells us that Saul sent his waiters to apprehend David. David is the sinner, whose salvation the heavenly Court has at heart. Saul is the Devil, who attempts to apprehend the sinner or David by the means of his waiters, the seven capital sins.

The first Waiter is *Pride* — riding on a dromedary, armed with golden weapons, and carrying on its helmet a pawn. In the scutcheon it has an eagle; in the embroidery of its garments a lion, and in its hands a broad sword. All these attributes are as many allegories, which are carefully explained with great profusion of words and a deal of moralizing dullness.

The second Waiter is *Luxury* — sitting on a bear; has a crown of roses on the helmet, a syren in the scutcheon, a basilisk in the embroidery of her robes, and in her hands she carries a golden bowl full of her impurities. She is said to ride on a bear, because that animal is known to be fond of honey.

The third Waiter is *Avarice* — sitting on an animal called *Orix*, having a mole on its helmet, and in the embroidery of its robes the figure of an hamster — (Emstra\*) and in its scutcheon an Unicorn.

The fourth Waiter is *Anger* — riding on a camel, having on its helmet an animal called *Nifus* — in its scutcheon a mad dog, and in its robes a monster called *Foca*.

The

\* This pernicious kind of animal is very common in the inland parts of Germany, of which it seems to be a native. Conf. Buffon—Pennant—Zimmerman. Its Latin name might perhaps be acceptable to the Zoologists.



The fifth Waiter is *Envy*—riding on a dragon, and having on its helmet a nest or hive of bees, in its scutcheon a bat, and in its robes a snake.

The sixth Waiter is *Sloth* (*Accidia*) riding on an ass, having on its helmet the figure of a monkey—in its scutcheon a buffalo, and in its robes a leopard.

The seventh Waiter is *Gluttony*—riding on an animal called *Cacus*, having on its helmet a Fox, in its scutcheon a pike, and in its robes an animal called *Pantbio*. It is said to ride on an animal called *Cacus*, because this animal will, according to Solinus, draw sometimes three or four oxen by their tails into a cavern, and then devour them :\* for which reason it is well calculated to represent insatiable gluttons.

To these seven Waiters or Adjutants of the Devil *Farinator* opposes as many Virtues, viz. Humility, Chastity, Bounteousness, Patience, Charity, Devotion, and Abstinence. They are of course accoutred in a similar manner as the Vices, which they are meant to subdue and to overcome; and I enter in no further detail of their accoutrement than just to mention some singular animals, subservient to them either to ride upon, or as ornaments.

*Humility* has a Griffon in its robes.

*Chastity* rides on an Unicorn.

*Bounteousness* sits on the back of an animal, which *Farinator* calls *Ealc*, and describes as similar to a horse with two horns, the one of which, when fighting in its own defence, it points forwards, whilst it lays the other on its back. On its helmet Bounteousness is reported to carry a bird, called *Galander* or *Caladrius*, which according to *Isidorus* *Farinator* describes in a very fabulous manner.

S 2

Patience

\* We see poor *Cacus* changed here into an animal.

*Patience* is said to have in its scutcheon the figure of a beast called *Ixontophonus*, which *Farinator* describes as being often pursued and torn to pieces by lions, which however proves death and destruction to the lions, for laying hold of them with their teeth they are poisoned directly and die with their prey.

*Charity* rides on an animal called *Orafius*, has on its helmet a *Core-dulus*, in its scutcheon a pelican, and in its robes a harpy. The *Orafius* is according to the *Liber Rerum*, the most beautiful animal in nature, for it is variegated with the finest colours, and is of the form and size of a stag. The *Coredulus* is described by *Farinator* as a bird of prey, which picks out only the hearts of its victims; and he gives us this bird as a true image of God, who requires nothing but the heart of men.

*Devotion*, that Virtue which is to oppose *Sloth*, rides on the back of an animal which is called *Canipolus*. In its scutcheon it has a bird called *Aeriophilon*; and a Phoenix in its robes. The *Canipolus* is according to the *Liber rerum* an animal which climbs from mountain to mountain. The *Aeriophilon* is a noble bird, which inhabits the upper regions of the sky, for which reason it is seldom if ever seen on the surface of the earth. It often soars above the clouds, feeds in the air, and is seldom seen by mankind.

*Abstinence* has in its escutcheon an Otter, which *Farinator* calls *Luther*, and describes according to the *Liber rerum*, exactly as the common river-otter.

This hellish and heavenly host of Vices and Virtues is described in so verbose a manner, commented upon with so many authorities of the holy writings and fathers of the Church, and allegorized and moralized with such abundance of Monkish learning, and self-complacency, that I have no more to add in commendation of this master-piece of *Farinator's* wit, fancy and idleness, than first a well meant wish that these heavenly Virtues may ever reign over these hellish Vices, and then some observations

on

on *Farinator's* allegorical and zoological knowledge, both so wondrously displayed in this his performance on the Seven Waiters.

As to his allegories, it is obvious that they are far fetched and established in an arbitrary manner, not on the nature of things and exact resemblances, but on popular and erroneous opinions; that they are framed without taste, and very far from that simplicity and perspicuity which the Greek and Roman poets and artists gave to their allegorical language and figures. They are in that respect as reprehensible as most part of the old Egyptian allegories, and if they bear a resemblance to those of *Cesare Ripa*\*, it is no recommendation to them, or to that tasteless author, whose whimsical allegorical figures have been undeservedly adopted by many illiterate tasteless modern painters, and strange to tell, have been lately engraved and printed again in this kingdom.

*Farinator's* zoological knowledge is as exceptionnable; being made up from the fabulous accounts of all the preceeding ages. Acquainted with, and perhaps persuaded of the real existence of the fabulous animals of Pliny, and of ancient poetry, viz. the Syrens, the Unicorn, the Basilisk, the Dragons, and the Griffon; he gives us the names and descriptions of many others, such as of the *Orix*, the *Nisus*, the *Cacus*, the *Ealc*, the *Galand* or *Caladrius*, the *Leontophonus*, the *Coredulus*, the *Orasius*, the *Canipolus*, the *Aeriophilon*, and others, which are as fabulous, yet as acceptable to poets and romance-writers and readers as the former have been. All these animals have an existence in the kingdom of fiction, are admitted into blazonry, and cut a respectable figure in our arms; for which reason *Farinator's*, or any other fabulous accounts of the same kind may be subservient to some future *Linnæus* or *Buffon*, for the purpose of writing and classing the history of fabulous, poetical and heraldical animals, which is hitherto too

\* In his *Iconologia*.



too much neglected, and, if well treated, might become an entertaining, nay even a useful work for artists, poets, and antiquarians.

So much of *Farinator* and of his moralities, or the perverted sense of the numerous authors, whom he cut to pieces and hoarded up under his common places of pulpit eloquence.

He was certainly a man of great reading; and had his judgment been equal to his wit, and his principles to his zeal, his various reading must have improved his own mind, and enlightened the age he lived in; but under the influence of his Order, his party, and his barbarous age, his reading and learning are in respect to useful science

*Rudis indigestaque moles,*

and his work a chaos of good and bad materials, compiled and arranged in the most whimsical manner, like the temples, colonnades and statues which some Prince in Sicily caused to be built from China cups, saucers, tea and chamber-pots\*.

I do not attempt to give a general index of the authors, from which he compiled the ground-work of his moralities. The greater part of them are known, such as the classics, the holy writings, the fathers of the church, the commentators on Plato and Aristotle, and some old Greek and Arabian physicians; and I have nothing to say about them here, except that he has perused but a very few historians, that he has absolutely neglected the works of S. Benedict, and that he seems to have had a particular predilection for the authors on the arts, and on natural history and philosophy; but as many of these authors seem to be either lost or neglected in the libraries, or less known among the learned, I think a short account of them will not be unacceptable. To this I shall add the fragments of the lost authors, which he has preserved, especially those  
of

\* Brydone's Travels to Sicily.

of *Theophilus*; fully satisfied, that thus I have done ample justice to this singular Luminary of the Soul, and brought under a few points of view what possibly may recommend it to the attention of the present age.

*An alphabetical Index of some old curious Authors, either lost or unknown, which Farinator has mentioned, or from which he compiled his Lumen Animæ; together with the Fragments of Theophilus, and of some others.*

*Africanus*

de commendationibus Scipionis. Is quoted P. 1. Tit. 2. amongst the authorities.

Seems to be Tully's *Somnium Scipionis*.

*Africanus Jureconsultus.*

De Institutis. The following passage quoted P. 1. Tit. LIII.

"Traianus trecenta capita palis infixâ vidit, quorum vita avaritiam exercuit."

*Albertus*

De Viis naturæ & artis. P. 1. Tit. 1. Lit. F. and in many other places. Seems to be a work of Albertus Magnus.

*Albertus Commentator Aristotelis.*

De impressionibus aeris.

In VI. Animal.

In Mineralibus Avicennæ; quoted in many places.

*Alcuini*

Dial. ad Karol. P. 11. Cap. 3.

*Algazel*

De forma Speculi

De IV. Transcendentibus. In Prolog.

*Alkabicius*

In Prospectivis. According to Farinator's Prologue found in a Convent in Germany.

In Theorica Planetarum. Quoted P. 1. Tit. LXI. Lit. X.

*Alpho-*

*Alphorabius*

De differentia regionum. Mentioned in the Prologue as having been in great repute in the University of Paris.

*Amphites*; unknown to J. A. Fabricius.

In Edictis Philosophorum: the manuscript mentioned under that name in the Prologue, is said to have been found in England at a place called *Perfmona*.

De commemoratione Antiquorum. P. 1. Tit. XIV. Lit. M.

"Vespertilio circularem motum facit & distortum, sed ad gladium velocissimo volatu & recto tramite infilit."

De Sententiis Antiquorum. Libr. III. is quoted P. 1. Tit. LXII. B.

"In vasis argenteis & aureis dulcescit omnis liquor."

Medicinalium Lib. IV. is quoted P. 1. Tit. XXXVI. Lit. N.

"Quicumque pingues & corpulenti apparent post languorem, constat quod languor nondum extricatus est in his sed huiusmodi carnositas recidivationis & mortis instantis indicium est."

De Turmis Philosophorum.—mentioned P. 1. Tit. XXV. Lit. B.

which passage seems to imply that Amphites or a fragment of his is inserted in the *Turba Philosophorum seu Collectione Autorum & Scriptorum Alchymisticorum*, which is inserted in the *Artis auriferæ Scriptorum Collectio*. Basileæ, 1593. 1610. 8vo.

*Theatri Chemici Tomo. V. Argentinae 1622. 8vo.*

*Mangeti Bibl. Chemica. p. 445. 480.*

*Antonius Orator*

Super Rhetor.

Super III. Politicæ Aristotelis. In several places.

*Apollonius*

De compositionibus rerum.

*Architas*



*Architas* Tarentinus

De eventibus in natura. Mentioned in the Prologue as having been found in a Convent of Germany.

*Aristoteles* appears on every page under his own and the Philosophers name. The following and partly supposititious works of his are mentioned by Farinator:

De Dimensionibus terrae; is mentioned in the Prologue as found at Toledo in Spain.

Epistola de Regimine Principum. P. 1. Tit. LVI. N.

Epistola VI. ad Alexandrum. P. 1. Tit. LVJ. P.

*Avicenna*

De diluviis Lib. IV. Mentioned in the Prologue.

De Mineralibus. Mentioned in the Prologue.

*Belinus.*

An author unknown to J. A. Fabricius. Is often quoted in the Alchymistical collections mentioned under Amphites. Farinator has perused his following works:

1. De Inventione Artium, according to Farinator's Prologue, translated by himself from the Greek; yet he has not inserted any fragments taken from it, but several from the following:

2. De Virtutibus Lapidum. P. 1. Tit. XXV. B.

"Magnes in argento gestatus visum clarificat, sensus quoque ceteros illuminat & confortat."

3. De Sigillis Lapidum. P. 1. Tit. XXV. Q.

"Margarita sua orbatur efficacia & virtute nisi in auro recondatur."

Ibid. Tit. XLIX. X<sup>a</sup>. "Omnis gemma & lapis preciosus cum ignitus fuerit mox suam virtutem efficaciamque amittit."

T

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.* Tit. LIV. S. "Vt lapis preciosus eam quam amisit reheat  
"efficaciam & virtutem necesse est ut oleo lini unguatur, corio  
"hircino involvatur."

*Ibid.* Tit. LXI. Lit. X. "Lapis fit per impressionem virtutis coelestis."

*Ibid.* Tit. LXIII. Z. "Quaedam sunt nobiles gemmae quae nocturno  
"tempore lucent copiose & si in terra sepultae iacent ignique  
"valido calefiant amplius non lucebunt."

4. De iudiciis futurorum.

P. I. Tit. XXVI. B. "Quando Mirica floret caristia hoc anno  
"fit."

All these fragments shew that *Belinus* was a very credulous man; and though he may not be depended upon as an Observer of Nature, yet his work on the Arts, and even his fabulous Natural History would be acceptable Discoveries.

*Jul. Celsus* libr. v. de gestis Antiquorum

Tit. xv. C. "Quatuor inquit Elephantem fortem faciunt & audacem videlicet accinctio fortis, ostensio sanguinis, aestus fortis & punctura in pedibus ultimis."

The same author and book are quoted in Vincentii Bellouacensis Speculo historiali, as appears from J. A. Fabricii Bibl. Latina; The same author abridged the Commentaries of Cesar, which abridgment was published in the year 1473, and is perhaps the same work from which Farinator compiled. See Vossius Lib. I. de historicis latinis; and Vossii lib. V. Instit. Orat. c. 3. them 19.

*Publius Celsus*; an author absolutely unknown to J. A. Fabricius. Farinator mentions in the Prologue to his work,

De mirabilibus naturae, which he relates to have been found at Toledo in Spain, and to have had sent from thence; yet it does not appear that he has inserted any fragments of it into his Luminary of the Soul.

*Centobius*; unknown to Fabricius.

De giro orbis.

Farinator mentions in his Prologue that the manuscript was found at Toledo in Spain.

*Cicero's*

Works appear on every page.

Etymologiarum Lib. IV. unknown to Fabricius is quoted P. II.

C. 7. and the following passage inserted, "Miram quandam  
"anxietatem fabulantur Poetae dum corpus hoc grave nos-  
"trum & anima separantur."

*Constantinus*

De natura liquidorum, cuncta includens accidentia & effectus aquae, vini, olei, nivis, roris, pluviae cuiuslibetque liquoris; reported in the Prologue as being found with many other books on natural Philosophy at a place which Farinator calls *Catburcum*.

*Didymi*

Epist. ad Alexandrum, mentioned in several places.

*Ebernenus*

De effectibus Somniorum, quoted P. 1. Tit. LXXII. Ca.

*Egidius*

De Somno & vigilia. P. 1. Tit. LXXII. F.

*Egisippus Hiero:*

De vestigiis naturae. Tit. I. Lit. N.

*Evax*

1. De Sigillis lapidum;

Reported in Farinator's Prologue as being found at Toledo in Spain, and to have been delivered to him by a Jew; yet he has not inserted any of its fragments; perhaps because he quotes



or inserts them under some other title. J. A. Fabricius ascribes this book of Evax to one Marbodeus, who died about the year 1131, 8vo. Coloniae 1539, 8vo. Basileae, 1555, Wolfenbuttel, 1740, 4to. and in the Dactyliotheca of Gorleus. Leiden, 4to. It is often quoted in Vincentii Bellovacensis Spec. Hist. under the title of *Lapidarius*. See Fabricii Bibl. Latina.

2. De eventibus—effectibus in natura Lib. VIII. is perhaps the same as the above, or the above a part of this greater work. Fabricius does not know any work of Evax under this title. Pliny tells us Lib. XXV. C. 2. that Evax wrote and inscribed to Nero a Greek work on the effects of the Simples, which of course must have been different from the other on the natural history and magick powers of the Gems and Stones, and is perhaps the same from which Farinator has preserved the following fragments.

P. I. Tit. XXXIII. D. "Cum lapides igniti fuerint & postmodo aquae immerguntur continuo magis aggravantur; scinduntur & foetidi efficiuntur."

P. I. Tit. XXXIV. P. "Camphora omnis perditur ab incasto."

P. I. Tit. XLII. S. "Quaecumque corpora habent odorem valde dulcem ipsa in se amare sentiuntur." These fragments are prose, whereas the work of Marbodeus, which Fabricius looks upon to be the same as Evax's, is written in Latin Hexameters: from which it seems to follow that Marbodeus versified only the older Greek works of Evax.

#### *Eudoxus*

De gestis Philosophorum. Quoted P. I. Tit. LVI. P. and P. II. C. 10.

Unknown to Fabricius.

#### *Evencius*

De effectibus Somniorum. Tit. LXXIV. Lit. L.

Even-

*Eventinus*

De naturis liquidorum. Tit. LXIII. P.

*Evenus*

De contentibus Orbis. Farinator tells us in his Prologue that the Manuscript was found at Rome.

*Fontinus*

Descriptiones universi, Lib. VI. quoted Tit. LXXII. B. Farinator tells us, the Manuscript was found in a Convent in Germany.

*Fulgentius*

Mythol. Lib. VIII. quoted in many places.

*Gilbertus*

de Secretis Naturae.

*Gratianus*

In apparatu Juris.

*Henricus a Gandavo*

In III Quolibet suo—quoted in several places.

*Hermes Termegistus*

1. De corporibus transmutandis. Though Farinator has not inserted any fragments belonging to this work, yet he mentions it in the Prologue as one of those he perused; Fabricius gives a full and circumstantial account of all the works of Hermes Bibl. Gr. I. 7, 8. However, he does not mention any under this title, which for aught I know may be a very proper one for almost every performance of this apocryphal author. Conr. Gesner had in his library Capitula VII. de lapidis philosophici decretis, which according to Fabricius Bibl. Gr. S. c. x. p. 66, 67, are inserted in Theatri Chemicum Tom. IV. Argent. 1643, 8vo. or Lipsiae curante Gnosio, 1610.

2. Ad Asclepium. A fragment is quoted and inserted P. II. c. 5. It is perhaps the same work which Farinator mentioned in the prologue under another title; Cyrillus and other Greek Fathers quoted

quoted and knew it; the Latin translation falsely ascribed to Apuleius, is quoted by S. Austin, and is printed together with Mars. Ficini Poemander, and inserted in

*Patricii nova Philosophia de universis.*

Venet. 1591. fol. Ferraræ 1391, fol. and under the Title  
Magica Philosophia cura H. Ranzovii, Hamb. 1593, 8vo.

*Hiberniae Eventus*

quoted P. I. Tit. LXV. Lit. C. in order to prove that formerly there have been, as Farinator expresses it, deluges and inundations of fire; that is to say, conflagrations of great tracts of land. In support of the same he quotes Legendam S. Agathæ, Historiam Longobardorum & Visiones Tndali.

*Johannes Proscida.*

De Viatico Medicinæ. Tit. LXXII. M.

*Johannicius Medicus*

Mentioned in the Prologue as Collega Hippocratis.

*Isidorus*

In hist. nat.

Etymologico &

De Summo bono—quoted and mentioned on almost every page.

*Lincolniensis.* P. I. Tit LXVI. Lit. G.

*Lexus* in *Physionomia* Palemonis.

Unknown to Fabricius

P. I. Tit. L. Lit. G. a. “Pectora valde erecta in altum versus mentum audaciam indicant & mentis inertiam arguunt & demonstrant.”

Tit. LI. F. “Hi qui languent cum aut penitus non audiunt aut “difficulter audiunt indicium mortis praeferunt sibi in proximo accidens.”



*Tit. LI. L.* "Elegantis naturae indicium est & signum dum quis  
"humanos fletus audiens & dolores in intimis suis contrahitur & ut  
"compatiens dolenti homini contristatur."

*Tit. LVII. B.* "Longa brachia elegantissima sunt indicia naturae."

*Morienes*

De zonis & climatibus mundi. Mentioned in the Prologue.

*Moyfes Raby.* P. II. c. 69.

*Nestorius*

De Oceani circulo. *Farinator* mentions in the Prologue, that this work was found at Toledo in Spain, and delivered to him by a Jew.

*Palemon*

De signis naturae. *Farinator* mentions in his Prologue, that he translated him from the Greek.

*Tit. LVII. A.* In *Physionomia Loxi* testatur manum latam & spissam longaevitatem praesignare.

*Pandulphus*

1. De meatibus, venis aditibus, subterraneis & cavenis terrae.

According to *Farinator's* account in his Prologue found in England, at a place which he calls *Perfmona*. *G. Agricola* de re metallica mentions the same in the Preface; yet it does not appear that he had a copy of it, or perused the same; so that to all appearances he knew it only from *Farinator*, who had a copy of it, though none of its fragments appear in his *Luminary*. One *Pandulphus*, perhaps the author of this work, is very often quoted in the *Turba Philosophorum* in *Mangeti Bibl. Chemica*, and in *Theatri Chymici* Tom. V. However that be a copy of this old natural Historian of the Earth would be a desirable discovery; and as the manuscript was found in England, and thence brought to France for the perusal of *Farinator*, an old copy is likely to be met with in some library of these kingdoms, which I observe for the sake of those who have at heart the improvement.

ment and encouragement of Natural History, adding, that a collection of old natural historians is still wanting.

2. De tribus Reginis (if not Regnis) quoted Tit. LII. "Solus homo in nocte timius est plures vero constantes simul audacissimi nocte sunt."

*Papias* Lib. VI. Tit. LXI. A.

*Philaretus*

De natura febrium. See Farinator's Prolog.

*Platæarins*

Lib. VII. naturalium. Tit. LXXII. V.

*Plinius*

Specul. naturale. Prol. Tit. II. and in many other places.

De mirabilibus mundi. Tit. I.

De mappa mundi. Tit. I. Lit. O.

De septem mirabilibus. Tit. XL. Ba. LXI. Ja.

Physionomiae Lib. III. Tit. LXI. V. "Oculi profundi clarius limpidiusque vident."

*Seneca.*

1. In Rudonte. Tit. L. "Dum altus fleti nunquam pavere desii. Redige te ad ima ex quibus cadere non possis."

2. De IV. Virtutibus. P. II. c. 10. "Tribus temporibus animus tuus dispensetur. Praesentia ordina. Futura provide. Praeterita recordare."

3. De moribus. P. II. c. 94. "Quid est homini inimicissimum? Alter homo. Inimicitias moderate exerce."

4. De Proverbiis. P. II. c. 36, 58, 94. c. 98. "Triumphus innocentis est non peccare ubi liceat. In quem plus potes peccare define. In malis sperare bonum nisi innocens nemo solet."

5. De remediis futurorum. P. II. c. 58.

*Socrates.*

De Virtutum ordine. Lib. IV. P. I. Tit. XLVII.

*Theo-*

*Theophrastus*

Libro Commentorum. Tit. LXIII. G. "Proprium est sapientis  
" in eius animum nullam posse incidere passionem."

*Theophilus*

*Breviarium diversarum artium.*—Mentioned by Farinator in his Prologue being found in a Convent in Upper Germany, (Allemannia) and quoted by him under this Title, and that of *Tractatus and Brevisloquus diversarum artium.* The following fragments prove it to have been, or to be a work full of good information.

P. 1. Tit. II. Lit. H. "Sonus excellens duos effectus in nobis  
" efficit & relinquit. Nam interiora prae cordia commovet & cum  
" cessaverit adhuc tamen sui fragoris in auribus signum vestigiaque  
" relinquit, quemadmodum videmus cum stamus circa campanam  
" grandem."

*Ibid. Litt. N.* "Funis aut zona in longum protensa super terrae  
" in medio sui inclinatur quantumcunque enim extrema trahantur  
" & distendantur in medio tamen instar arcus inclinatur."

Tit. III. K. "Baculus aquae immixtus confractus per medium  
" aestimatur."

*Ibid. Litt. S.* "Tria sunt quae audaciam efficiunt & inducunt,  
" videlicet frigus exterius, calor interius, sanguisque aspectus."

*Ibid. Litt. Ka.* "Ex decoctione sanguinis vasa vitrea & ferrea  
" molliuntur."

*Ibid. Litt. Ra.* "Virga cineribus calidis intincta facilius flectitur  
" & in restem mutatur."

Tit. VII. Lit. F. "Omnia metallorum genera ad acredinem ali-  
" cuius amari & acetosi liquoris penitus resolvuntur & in molli-  
" ciem convertuntur." Aqua fortis is here plainly spoken of.

U

Tit.



*Tit. X. La.* "Ebur mollicatur dupliciter: aut in forti aceto  
" vini aut in oleo benedicti."

*Tit. XIV. O.* "Canes venationis in tempore dum esuriunt & voces  
" insequentium se venatorum audiunt mox tarditate sui motus de-  
" posita & torpore feram velocius insequuntur."

*Tit. XV. B.* "Equus accingitur duplici de causa. videlicet propter  
" infessorem ut sic ipse equo fortius infideat & ut cursum velo-  
" ciores faciat."

*Tit. XXV. B.* "Sagaces insculptores magnetem per triduum terrae  
" immergunt & in corio hircino includunt aut oleo lini liniunt  
" ob hoc ut eam quam interdum perdidit efficaciam & virtutem  
" valeat rehabere."

*Tit. XXVI. C.* "Qualitercunque Vitrum fuerit depictum per quod  
" videtur vel pannos—eiusdem coloris omnia videntur esse quae  
" per vitrum aut per pannum conspiciuntur."

*Tit. XXXVI. H.* "Proprium est coecorum ut semper sint pingui-  
" ores fetidiores & astuciores."

*Tit. XXXVII. L.* "Hoc medicorum solet esse proprium ut sint  
" loquaces celeriterque loquantur."

*Ibid. Lit. V.* "Perfekte uniuscunq[ue] rei lotio consistit in amaritu-  
" dine & in cinerositate, in falsedine & calore."

*Ibid. Lit. Ab.* "Nullum est adeo grave metallum quin laminatum  
" & subtiliatum natet super aquas; sed in re re minime."

*Tit. XXXIV. E.* "Basiliscus incineratus apparentem splendorem  
" habet inducere omnibus metallis ut dicit Theophilus in breviario  
" diversarum artium. Cuprum enim tingit in aurum & ferrum  
" in argentum si sparsus fuerit pulvis eius super laminas calidas &  
" candentes."

*Tit. XXXIX. F.* "Sanguis non induratur in vitro."

*Tit. XLI. C.* "Omnia metalla argento & auro commixta magis  
" solito sonora efficiuntur & acuta."

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.* Lit. I. "Cum aliquis oleum sumpserit ad os, secure & sine omni timore ad horam immergi potest ipsis aquis." Theophilus did not try the experiment; nor will any body upon his assertion.

*Tit. XLII. R.* "Commentator in M. Methe. dicit: Aqua amra & falsa dulcescit quinque modis. Primo per cerceum vas per tri-duum distillata ut dicit Philosophus ibidem. Secundo per intinctu-ram immissuramque lapidis cristalli seu pulveris cristallini testante Theophilo. Tertio per immisionem alicuius corii & pellis testante Galieno Secretorum suorum libro. Quarto per immisionem lapidis igniti ut dicit Avicenna libro mineralium. Quinto modo per vehementem Solis desiccationem."

*Tit. XLVIII. M.* "Natura venti atque flatus est accendere validius ignem."

*Tit. XLIX. Ha.* "Has nimirum emittendo oris flatum virtutes effcimus & effectus. nam plumam sursum pellimus. pulverem abstergimus. dolorem sedamus, fetorem repellimus. cibum nimis calidum infrigidamus. & manus calidas refrigefacimus."

*Ibid.* Lit. Xb. "Aurum igne liquatum naturaliter delectat aspici-entes visumque irradiat & illustrat."

*Ibid.* Lit. Nc. "Virga humectata & in cineribus calidis implicata denuo cum excepta fuerit flectitur faciliter & rumpitur difficulter."

*Tit. PLIX. Ge.* "Panis cum ad ignem incaluerit mox intus mollescit exterius vero durescit: esibilior quidem fit, rubescit & fumescit."

*Ibid.* Lit. Oe. "Post cibum dulcem amarescit potus."

*Ibid.* Litt. Xe. "Ebur mollescit quinque modis, videlicet vino decoctum, oleo unctum, corio involutum, igne calefactum, aceto immersum."

*Tit. LXXII. Aa.* "Somnia quae nobis in mane accidunt magis videntur significare quam ea quae aut in principio aut in medio noctis accidunt."

*Tit. LXXIII. C.* "Tria saltum grandem altumque efficiunt. Primum est baculus in manibus, secundum est inclinatio incurvatioque praecedens in pedibus. Tertium est status detentus in corpore & non expiratus. Vt enim alte saliamus tria hæc facimus; nam primo pedes seu genua incurvamus. baculum applicamus. & statum minime expiramus."

*Tit. XLIX. Dg.* "Vitrum a parvo igne frangitur, in magno autem consolidatur valde & liquatur."

*Tit. LIII. C.* "Spina infert suo cortice & humore nigredinem."

*Tit. LVI. A.* "Ex destillatione aquae & sonitu decidentis stillae in pelvim velocissime obdormitur."

*Tit. LVII. A.* "Cuicunque manus abscissa fuerit, talis in eodem latere frigus intensum perpetuumque habebit."

*Tit. LXII. B.* "Quilibet liquor in loco subterraneo humido, frigido optime constricto & cooperto recens a corruptione immunis perpetualiter conservatur."

*Tit. LXIII. S.* "Aurum liquatum naturaliter delectat aspicientem, visumque nostrum irradiat & illustrat. Vnde & idem ait: Natura auri est magis quidem splendere in igne sub specie liquoris, quam sub forma duricie & rigoris."

*Tit. LXXIII. C.* "Sopor praestigiosus praestigio incantatorum & furum impressus hominibus difficulter ad actum vigiliae restauratur."

FINIS.





